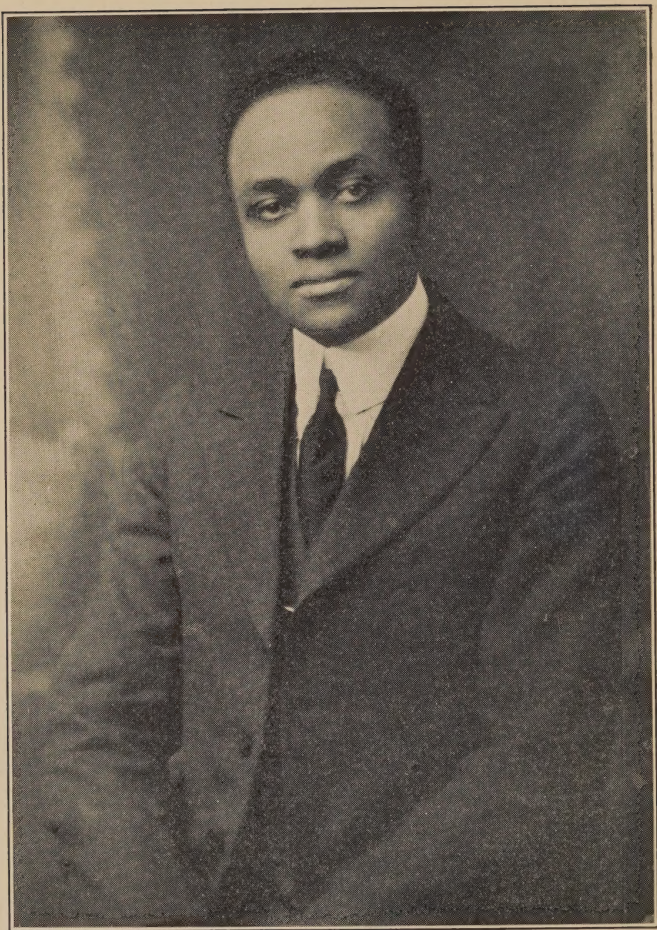
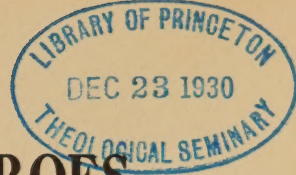


Division E185
Section .93.D6J7

THE HOUSING OF NEGROES
IN WASHINGTON, D.C.



WILLIAM HENRY JONES



THE HOUSING OF NEGROES IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

A Study in Human Ecology

BY
WILLIAM HENRY JONES

FORMERLY PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT
OF SOCIOLOGY IN HOWARD UNIVERSITY

*An Investigation Made Under the Auspices of the
Interracial Committee of the Washington
Federation of Churches*

WASHINGTON, D.C.
HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1929

COPYRIGHT, 1929
By
WILLIAM HENRY JONES

Published July, 1929

Printed in the
United States of America

DEDICATED
TO MY FORMER STUDENTS IN
HOWARD UNIVERSITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF MAPS AND CHARTS	11
LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS	11
FOREWORD BY DR. ANSON PHELPS STOKES AND DR. EMMETT J. SCOTT	13
LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE OF THE WASHINGTON FEDERATION OF CHURCHES	17
LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL	18
INTRODUCTION	23
CHAPTER I. THE ORIGIN AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE NEGRO HOUSING PROBLEM IN WASHINGTON, D. C.	27
Social Conditions of the Earliest Negro Inhabitants—Effects of the Growth of the Negro Population after Emancipation—The Alley System of Dwellings; Its Rise and Development; Attempts at Abatement; The Alley as a Social Situation; Reasons Why People Live in Alleys; Pathological Features: Morbidity and Mortality, Illegitimacy, Family Disorganization, Crime and Viciousness, Alleys and the Inferiority Complex; The Alleys as the Natural Habitats of the Oldest Negro Inhabitants; The Present Status of the Alley Problem.	
CHAPTER II. THE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE ECOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.	57
Its Geographical Distribution—Expansion of the Population—Types of Overflows—Typical Expansion Areas—Negro Invasions and Racial Friction—The Covenant—Social Attitudes of White People—Hardships Which Negro Invasions Work upon White Property Owners—Interracial Residential Contacts—Problems Caused by the Growth of the City.	
CHAPTER III. THE NEGRO COMMUNITY; ITS STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL ASPECTS	85
Negroes and the Trade Areas—The Organization and Disorganization of Negro Communities—The Negro Community as a Natural Area.	

CHAPTER IV. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY NEGROES.....	91
Factors Which Determine the Appointment of Homes—Descriptions of Negro Homes; External Characteristics, Internal Characteristics—Classification of Types of Homes—The Geographical Distribution of Types of Homes—Descriptions of Conditions of Negro Homes—Attitudes of Occupants.	
CHAPTER V. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NEGRO HOME IN WASHINGTON.....	111
A Study of Occupants: Total Number of Persons in Homes; The Number of Children; Lodgers; Occupational Status of Heads of Homes; "Sundown Occupations"; Female Employment; The Period of Residency—Recreational Facilities of the Negro Home—Telephones—General Characterization of Negro Homes in Washington.	
CHAPTER VI. HOME OWNERSHIP AND TENANCY.....	127
Home Ownership—Tenancy.	
CHAPTER VII. APARTMENT HOUSES AND HOTELS.....	135
Rentals of Apartments—Period of Negro Occupancy—Ownership of Apartment Buildings—Lighting and Heating—The Locations of Negro Apartment Buildings—Cooperative Ownership—Hotels.	
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	146
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	155
APPENDIX.....	159
INDEXES.....	186

LIST OF MAPS AND CHARTS

Map I—Showing the Location of Alleys in the Various Health Districts of the City.

Map II—Showing the Geographical Distribution of Negroes Arrested for Felonious Offences.

Map III—Showing the Distribution of Juvenile Delinquents for the Years 1926 and 1927.

Map IV—Showing the Ecology of Unmarried Mothers.

Map V—Showing the Distribution of 2,358 Lodgers.

Map VI—Showing the Distribution of Renters and Owners.

Figure I—Per Cent of Negroes in Total Population, by Census Districts—1920.

Chart I—Showing the General Ecological Organization of the City of Washington.

Chart II—Frequency Distribution of Rooms.

Chart III—Frequency Distribution of Rentals.

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Table I. Mortality Rates of the District of Columbia, Computed on the Basis of a Study of Twenty-Six Health Districts.

Table II. Comparative Mortality Rate for Alleys and Streets.

Table III. Percentage of Deaths According to Disease for Alleys and Streets.

Table IV. Summary of Attitudes of Whites.

Table V. Comparison of the Purchase Prices of Similar Negro and White Homes.

Table VI. Descriptions of Social Blocks Occupied by Negroes.

Table VII. Materials of Yards.

Table VIII. Materials of Fences.

Table IX. Buildings on the Yards of Negro Homes.

Table X. Ventilation of Homes.

Table XI. Occupations of Heads of 5,062 Homes.

Table XII. Scale of Wages for Women in Industry.

Table XIII. Length of Residency for 5,330 Families.

Table XIV. Newspapers in Negro Homes.

Table XV. Names of Magazines.

Table XVI. Number of Apartments in Apartment Houses.

Table XVII. Rentals of 530 Apartments.

Table XVIII. Period of Negro Occupancy of Apartments.

Table XIX. Occupations of Heads of Families Living in Apartments.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece.....The Author

- I. A Class A Home.
- II. Class B Homes.
- III. Class D Homes.
- IV. Class E Homes.

FOREWORD

The Washington Interracial Committee takes pleasure in giving to the public this study by Professor William H. Jones, formerly of Howard University, of Negro housing conditions in Washington. It seems well in this Introduction to call attention to three facts: the purpose and work of the Interracial Committee; the record of the author; and the significance of the study.

(I) THE PURPOSE AND WORK OF THE INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE

The Washington Interracial Committee was organized in the Spring of 1926 at the request of Dr. W. W. Alexander, the Chairman of the National Committee on Interracial Cooperation of Atlanta, Georgia. This is the organization under Southern auspices which has fostered the establishment of about one thousand interracial committees in different parts of the country, especially in the South and the border states. These committees are made up of representative white and colored citizens who meet together every few months for the purpose of studying definite problems which have to do with preventing local interracial friction and improving the condition of the Negro.

The names of the members of the Washington Committee appear on page 17. It will be noticed that the white members—three clergymen, three laymen, and three laywomen, were appointed by the Federation of Churches (white) and represent both Northern and Southern traditions. The colored members—equally divided among the three groups mentioned—were appointed by the Ministers' Alliance (colored).

The Committee has worked quietly, its major interests up to the present having been as follows:

Development of the Negro Housing Survey;

Arrangement of annual meetings for the Award of the Harmon prizes for Negro achievement;

Serving as a Committee of local arrangements for the first National Interracial Conference held in Washington in 1928;

Arrangement for the exhibition of Negro art in Washington this Spring; and

Discussion of and cooperation in various matters of interracial adjustment.

Perhaps its most important service is in bringing together from time to time for frank discussion representative white and colored people so that they may understand each other's point of view and difficulties.

(2) THE RECORD OF THE AUTHOR

The author of this book—an American Negro—was born in Muscotah, Kansas, March 3, 1896. His highly creditable educational career in the public school system of his native town culminated in his graduating from high school at the head of his class. This achievement won for him a scholarship at Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas. He entered this institution in 1914, and graduated with the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1918. While a student at Washburn he specialized in philosophy and social science.

Immediately following the completion of his undergraduate work, the author entered the Graduate School of the University of Chicago, and spent five and one half consecutive years in graduate study. In 1919, he received the degree of Master of Arts, and in 1921, the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. From 1921 to 1923, inclusive, he pursued work on a fellowship toward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the department of sociology and anthropology. He established his candidacy for that degree by completing all the major requirements except his thesis, which is still in preparation.

The author's teaching career includes one year's professorship of history and political science at West Virginia Collegiate Institute, and a four years' professorship of sociology at Howard University. In 1927, he became the editor of the

"Howard University Studies in Urban Sociology", and was the author of the first book of this series, "Recreation and Amusement among Negroes in Washington, D. C." This book received high commendation from critical reviewers, and revealed its author's capacity for research and his insight into human nature. The author has also published many newspaper and magazine articles.

During his professorship at Howard University, he made intensive studies into the life and social conditions of the Negro population of the city of Washington. With the assistance of his students, he conducted a survey of religious institutions, a statistical study of the conditions of colored children, a study of the working conditions of colored women in industry, a study of leisure-time activities, and the present study of housing and community organization.

The author's principal interest has been in the analysis and interpretation of the life of the modern family, and he is looking forward to the establishment, ultimately, of a bureau of family research in one of the country's largest cities.

In 1924, the author was married to Miss R. Cornelia Polk of Prentiss, Mississippi, a graduate of Tougaloo College, who had pursued postgraduate work at the University of Chicago and at the University of California. They are the parents of two children.

(3) THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The Washington Interracial Committee believes that it is a matter of vital importance to the whole country that the Negro housing situation in Washington should be improved. The Capital should set a standard in such matters for the whole Nation. Bad conditions here tend to create indifference elsewhere, while good conditions in Washington tend to encourage the improvement of conditions throughout the country. The Committee believes that this factual study by Professor Jones supplies the data on which Congress, the District authorities,

and philanthropic agencies may unite to remedy serious abuses and to improve the situation generally.

Conditions of Negro housing in Washington have improved during the past quarter of a century but not so rapidly as in New York and other cities where they have had effective Tenement House or Housing Commissions. The first necessity is for the public to know the facts—especially the actual relation of the alleys to Negro health, crime, and general standards of living. Their demoralizing effect is brought out conclusively in this study; as are also the relatively good conditions which exist where the colored people live in a wholesome environment.

The Committee has been impressed with the scientific and constructive spirit in which Professor Jones has carried out his investigation. It is to be hoped that the public may receive the report and act upon it in the same spirit so that the interests of white and colored citizens alike may be protected. Bad housing conditions among any group are a menace to the whole community—for disease germs, whether in the field of physical, moral or social health, know no racial barriers.

The Washington Interracial Committee presents this report in the belief that the facts it discloses and the recommendations it makes speak for themselves. It wishes to take this opportunity to congratulate Professor Jones on his able report which represents an intensive study on the most approved sociological lines of about one fourth of the Negro homes of all types in Washington. The author, supported by the Committee must assume full responsibility for it, but thanks are due to the officers and students of Howard University for their splendid coöperation, and to Dr. Edward Devine, Professor of Sociology in American University, and Mr. John Ihlder, for many years Manager of the Civic Development Department of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, for reading the manuscript and making useful suggestions.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES, *Chairman.*

EMMETT J. SCOTT, *Secretary.*

February 12, 1929.

MEMBERS OF THE INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE OF
THE WASHINGTON FEDERATION OF CHURCHES

White Members

DR. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, *Chairman.*

MR. C. A. ASPINWALD

DR. W. S. BOWEN

MR. WILLIAM KNOWLES COOPER

MRS. ARCHIBALD HOPKINS

DR. S. J. PORTER

DEAN D. BUTLER PRATT

MRS. W. A. SLADE

MRS. H. E. WOOLEVER

Colored Members

REV. R. W. BROOKS, *Vice Chairman.*

MISS NANNIE BURROUGHS

MR. JOHN R. HAWKINS

REV. J. U. KING

MRS. MARTHA McADOO

DR. EMMETT J. SCOTT, *Secretary.*

MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL

REV. J. M. WALDRON

MR. GARNET C. WILKINSON

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Washington, D. C.
September 28, 1928.

To the Members of the Interracial Committee of the Washington Federation of Churches.

Gentlemen:

In accordance with the agreement entered into between your honorable committee and the undersigned in December, 1926—at the special request of Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, your chairman—the writer has conducted an investigation of the housing conditions of the Negro population in Washington, D. C. He has carried on this study as carefully and accurately as the time and facilities would allow, and has prepared, in person, the entire report which he is now submitting to you.

The initial agreement with your committee called for the investigation to be completed and the report to be submitted within one year from the date of its beginning. It soon became obvious, however, that the decision to extend the scope of the investigation and the limitations which heavy teaching responsibilities at Howard University placed upon the writer would not permit the completion of this study in so short a period of time. You were, therefore, courteous enough to extend the time by one year. It appears that this has enhanced the value of the investigation on its technical side and increased its comprehensiveness.

Every phase of this study, from its beginning to its completion in manuscript form, has had the writer's close personal supervision. He was assisted, at intervals, by a staff of well-trained persons—principally students in the Department of Sociology at Howard University—some of whom received from your committee, for a shorter or longer period, financial remuneration. In all, the writer was aided, in one way or

another, by some fifty or more persons to whom he is deeply indebted for assistance with the mechanical phases of the study. The writer, however, is responsible for the entire plan of the investigation, for the methods used in collecting and editing the data, and for the analysis, interpretation, and organization of the material found in the manuscript.

The writer takes pleasure in calling to your attention the completeness of the data submitted and the extent of the field covered by the report. A house-to-house canvass was conducted in Northwest and Southwest Washington and Georgetown, and covered practically every street on which Negroes were dwelling. The number of homes on which data were reported was 6,841. It seems safe to state that there were at least a thousand more homes that were visited but from which no satisfactory reports could be secured. Hence, they were not counted in the above number. In the tabulations for many of the specific items, only a percentage of the reports was used. You can readily realize how enormous the task of computing the results on the basis of the entire body of data in hand would have been. The final conclusions were arrived at on the basis of a study in most cases of from 3,500 to 5,500 schedules which represented all of the various districts of the city included in this investigation.

Paralleling the house-to-house canvass in significance were the personal observations and consultations of the writer. He conferred with the officials and consulted the records of practically all the significant social agencies, municipal bureaus, and institutions that bore any relation whatsoever to the problem under investigation. And he owes a debt of gratitude to them for the unusual courtesy which they extended, and for the encouragement and assistance which they gave. In this connection, the writer desires to mention the names of certain specific individuals to whom he is deeply indebted. He is greatly obligated to Mr. George S. Wilson, Director of the Board of Pub-

lic Welfare, for the contribution of his personal observations upon the Negro in Washington—made over a period of several years—and for his references to pamphlets and prominent citizens who were valuable sources of information; to Miss Willa Murray, Director of the social service department of the Gallinger Municipal Hospital, for unlimited use of its records; to Mr. Alton L. Wells, a prominent real estate dealer, for his definite personal interest and assistance in securing certain facts about the policies of real estate and loan companies in dealing with the property relations of Negroes; to Mr. William Tindall, the leading living authority on the historical development of the city of Washington, for the advantage of his personal knowledge, and for his references to helpful persons and documents; to Miss Kathryn Sellers, Judge, and Mr. Joseph W. Sanford, Chief Probation Officer, of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, for personal information and for permission to use the records of the Court; to Mr. John Ihlder of the United States Chamber of Commerce for assisting with the plan of the study, and for reading the manuscript; to the Collector of Taxes for many helpful suggestions; to Mr. M. C. Hazen, the District Surveyor, for his explanations of the plan of the city and for the opportunity to study some of the older architectural drawings of the framework of Washington; to Dr. Edward T. Devine, Dean of the Graduate School of American University, for reading the manuscript and making many helpful suggestions. The writer wishes to make special mention of the relationship which Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, Canon of the Washington Cathedral, bears to this study. It grew out of his personal suggestion and has been completed as the result of his efforts in securing financial assistance and his faith in Negro scholarship.

The writer is also indebted to such institutions as the National Training School for Girls, the National Training School for Boys, Freedmen's Hospital, the Instructive Visiting Nurse

Society, the Board of Children's Guardians, Department of Public Health, and the Police Department.

The attention of your committee is called to the fact that the sections dealing with the ecological* phase of the subject throw considerable light upon race relations in Washington. The study of Negro housing and community problems naturally involves the interpretation of the contact and interaction of Negroes with elements of the white population.

The writer is confident that the success of so great an undertaking has been due, chiefly, to the high degree of organization of the machinery which carried it through. As a result, our program evoked the minimum amount of criticism and objection. The mind of the public was prepared beforehand by announcements in various white and colored newspapers, and on the screens of three or four of our photoplay houses. This assured us a large amount of coöperation. There were, of course, a number of persons who refused to furnish information—the suspicious professional man who drove an investigator from his premises, the keepers of houses of ill-fame who, in indignation, “slammed” the door in our faces; individuals who refused in strong, profane, and vituperative language to reply to our inquiries; the elderly female with broken dialect who wanted to know “What’s all dis yer?”; are a few illustrations of some of the opposition which had to be encountered. The effects of such experiences were greatly offset, however, by the courteous manner in which we were received by more

* The terms “ecology” and “ecological” are used rather frequently throughout the text. “Human ecology” is a scientific term which refers to the organization of a group of people into characteristic communities and neighborhoods—groups that have more or less definite territorial boundaries—which are interrelated and which are the result of economic competition and race consciousness. Every city has certain distinct areas, such as restricted residential districts, slums, Negro communities, foreign sections, hotel and apartment districts, suburbs, and so forth. Each of these areas has a life which is peculiar to itself. This geographical distribution and organization of the city’s population is referred to in this study by the term “ecology.”

than ninety per cent of the families visited. We owe, therefore, a debt of gratitude to the Negro public of Washington.

The writer desires to express his thanks to your honorable committee for its patience, coöperation, encouragement, and financial assistance in making possible the completion of this investigation. The report in full, with recommendations, is attached hereto.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM H. JONES.

INTRODUCTION

The process of urbanization, which is so characteristic of the Negro population in America at the present time, is a movement which is actuated by powerful forces over which it is possible to exercise little or no conscious control. The desire for new experience, the effort to escape the isolation of the rural districts, the power of suggestion, the strong attachments involved in blood relationship, and numerous other forces render this movement inevitable. Viewed from the standpoint of the sociological implications of social change, it is perhaps a significant step in the progress of the Negro race in America. The rural districts with their high degree of cultural isolation and their binding forms of social control—resulting from intimacy and acquaintanceship—are unable to furnish many of the types of experiences which people crave. It is the awareness of the fact that the life of the villages and rural districts is drab, monotonous, unattractive, and inferior to that of the city that is causing the country to pour its populations into the great urban communities. The poetic allusions to the “lure of the wide-open spaces” cannot, at least from the viewpoint of sociology, stand critical analysis. It is the city that possesses the “lure”, the “attraction”, the “magnetism”, not the village or the country. Every city has the power of a magnet, for it constantly draws the people from other vicinities to itself and binds them together within its walls with a power directly proportionate to its size. This drawing power is so great that multitudes of people find themselves unable to resist it. The puzzle of why thousands of people, who have no reasonable prospect of winning a livelihood, insist upon migrating to the city, finds its solution in terms of the bewitching spell which the glamour of urban life throws upon the rural or small town inhabitants. It is a response to the craving for intense stimulation; and, as such, a craving for mental development. For the prerequisites to a growing consciousness are intensity, vari-

ety, and accessibility of myriad forms of sense experience. Our great cities furnish this intense quantitative stimulation, and are, therefore, the instruments of progress in civilization.

The Negro in America is now, and has been for more than a decade, entering upon a new life—urban life. For a culturally backward people, this is particularly significant, because it implies their entering further upon the threshold of civilization. This urbanization process is, undoubtedly, one of the most significant movements in the history of the Negro race in America since the year 1620. Negroes are flocking to the cities, not mainly because they expect to find less poverty—many realize that living conditions in the city are appalling—but because they want more stimulation or sense experience. The color, noise, and splendor of the city lures them. They hunger to get into the midst of massive crowds, to see the jewelry shops, the blinking and winking electric signs, fine clothes, and luxury; to hear the variety of noises, ranging from boisterous laughter to the weird, sensual, delirious moaning of a jazz band, or the solemn peals of a church organ. To see and be seen, hear and be heard—these are the principal reasons why there is, at present, such an epidemic of Negroes leaving the rural districts. They are seeking life—civilization, although, of course, economic considerations also play a part. This city life is costly. It frequently involves forsaking a relatively comfortable home in the country for a little, dark, wretched hall-bedroom in the city.

The history of the growth of the populations of many of our American cities shows that this craving of Negroes for city life is much in excess of the facilities which these cities are able to furnish for their accommodation. Because of racial attitudes, the Negro population is more difficult than other elements to assimilate into the life of the city—even into its external relations, i. e., ecology. Hence one of the major problems of Negro city dwellers is that of securing adequate and desirable homes in communities and neighborhoods that promote their welfare. Some northern cities, such as Detroit,

Chicago, Cleveland, and New York, have experienced Negro housing famines. This has been due to the rapid, unexpected increase of the Negro population. Since there are not enough houses for such suddenly augmented populations, the natural result is a serious housing shortage.

There is a surprisingly close relationship between the morbidity, mortality, and criminal conduct of Negroes in cities and their bad housing and disorganized community life. The facts show that there is a high correlation between congested, dark, damp, dilapidated houses, and tuberculosis and pneumonia. The alley house presents a typical example. The alley dwellings in Washington are almost always houses which do not have adequate light and air, abundant water, toilets and baths, necessary safeguards against fire, sufficient number of rooms for proper separation of the sexes, and walls, ceilings, and floors in good condition. These houses furnish more than twice their quota of cases of rickets, tuberculosis, illegitimacy, and criminality.

It has been, therefore, the purpose of this study to investigate the Negro population of Washington, D. C., in its relations to housing conditions and community organization. It is, in a certain sense, primarily a regional study of the Negro in the ecological organization of the city, but much of the data which it contains is that of social psychology and statistics. It aims to place the principal emphasis on human nature, rather than on the impersonal factors.

This study seeks to attain the ideal of being a record of careful observation and interpretation of facts as they truly are, regardless of the consequences for the interests of any particular group. It endeavors to present the truth; not to spread propaganda.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE NEGRO HOUSING PROBLEM IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE EARLIEST NEGRO INHABITANTS

Few records that reveal the sociological conditions of the early white inhabitants—to say nothing of the Negro inhabitants—in Washington have come down to us. The historical documents shed little or no light upon the social organization, geographical distribution and localization, sex composition, living conditions, and density of the early Negro population. The bulk of historical information is hidden in the records of Congressional enactments and other political documents which deal primarily with concrete isolated events, acquainting us in no manner with the social processes of this subordinated element of the city's population. Small bits of fragmentary evidence are accessible in the form of legal contracts, public addresses, quasi-authentic newspaper articles, records of real estate dealers, and other personal documents which throw some light upon the social conditions which prevailed among the first Negro inhabitants of the National Capital.

In 1800, the time of the removal of the seat of the federal government to Washington, there were 623 slaves and 123 free Negroes in a total population of 3,210 persons.¹ In 1810 the total population had increased to 8,208, of whom about 6,000 were whites, about 1,300, slaves, and about 900, free colored persons. The census for 1820 showed the total population to be 13,247, of whom about three-fourths were white. The slaves and free Negroes were about equal.² The census of 1830 showed the total population to be about 18,827; about 13,400 whites; about 2,300 slaves; and something over 3,000 free Negroes.³

¹ William Tindall, *History of the City of Washington*, p. 319.

² *Ibid.*, p. 330.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 344. Also, *Census of the U. S. from 1790 to 1840*, pp. 10-11.

This was the first census in which the freedmen were shown to outnumber the slaves. The census for 1840 showed a total population of Washington of 23,364; of which number, 16,843 were white, 1,713 were slaves, and 4,808 were free colored persons.⁴ The census report of 1860 gave the following statistics of the Negro population in the District of Columbia: 3,185 slaves, and 11,131 free Negroes—making a total of 14,296. There were, therefore, at this time more than three times as many freedmen as slaves within the confines of the District of Columbia. This meant that the majority of Negroes were living inside the City of Washington proper, since the tendency of the freemen was to seek the city, where they could find an environment in which they could gain status, make satisfactory adjustments, and thrive. These Negroes, because of their likemindedness, resulting from their racial identity, and the general social pressure of race and class prejudice, tended to be both forced and drawn into distinct communities.

Prior to the Civil War, the Negro inhabitants in Washington consisted of persons who were native to the soil and the free Negroes who had gravitated to the capital from communities of such neighboring slave states as Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, where they were regarded as undesirables—agitators and kindlers of the spirit of unrest among the slaves. Living conditions were not seriously sub-normal for a population with the economic status of slaves and ex-slaves. These early Negro inhabitants of pre-Civil War days lived in the little huts, hovels, and shacks which were stuck here and there among the shadows of the finer and more pretentious homes of the white population.

EFFECTS OF THE GROWTH OF THE NEGRO POPULATION AFTER EMANCIPATION

The problem of housing did not begin until the period of Reconstruction, when there was an influx of Negroes, estimat-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 352. See also, for population statistics, *Bureau of Census: Negro Population of U. S. 1790-1915*, pp. 57, 218.

ed to have been between thirty and forty thousand. They were poor, needy, and inadequately prepared to meet the strenuous demands of the new and complex environment of the city. This mad rush of a large number of Negroes to the city of Washington was due, chiefly, to the illusive belief which they held, that having been freed, if they could only reach Washington, they would find protection and have all their wants generously supplied by the Government. This was, in a sense, true; for these migrants were of necessity fed and cared for by the municipality until such time as they were able to secure work, or drifted to other outlying vicinities. The majority, however, remained in Washington, creating the menacing problems of over-population, congestion, and housing shortage. If the personal observations of prominent white citizens who lived in Washington at that time are reliable, there have never existed more sordid and distressing conditions in the history of American cities than those within the confines of the nation's capital. General O. O. Howard, who was active at that time in fostering philanthropic enterprises for Negroes who had recently been emancipated, appeared before the Senate Committee of the Second Session of the Thirty-ninth Congress and described the congestion and living conditions of these ex-slaves as "horrible". He stated that they were occupying localities within the metropolitan area of the city wholly unfit for human beings to inhabit. Moreover, he described the manner in which the landlords were taking advantage of them by exacting from them exorbitant rents.⁵ Some of the little one-room shanties were housing from twelve to twenty persons. Most of these huts had leaky roofs and bare-earth floors on which the occupants slept, using blocks of wood as pillows. The price of erecting these shanties in which the new-comers were being forced to live ranged from \$10 to \$30, but they were rented for \$5.00 and \$6.00 per month.

The Freedmen's Bureau then took up the task of alleviating these sordid and outrageous housing conditions. They pre-

⁵ See *Senate Document*, No. 1276, p. 42 ff.

pared tenements in certain of the public buildings, and equipped four barracks in and near the vicinity of Washington, which were capable of housing 350 families. In addition to erecting barracks, the Bureau furnished 200 tenements at Campbell Hospital, which were rented for \$3.00 per month.

But the Negro population continued to increase as the significance of emancipation began to grip the consciousness of these submerged and subjected classes throughout the cotton and tobacco states. Washington, the home of the emancipation proclamation, became the mecca of thousands of ex-slaves. The principal social force which operated to bring large numbers of Negroes to Washington and the District of Columbia was always the widely disseminated myth that since the capital was the seat of the emancipation, it was likewise a haven for the freedmen. The place where the legislation was enacted, which set the Negro free, became a source of magnetic attraction.

The Negro population of the District continued to double and re-double itself. The census figures show the following increases from 1860 to 1925: in 1866 the Negro population had increased from 14,296 to 31,549. In 1900, the Federal Census reported 86,702 as the total number of Negroes in the District of Columbia. In 1910 this number had increased to 94,446, and in 1920 to 109,966.⁶ According to the Police Census of 1925, the size of the Negro population had reached the number 126,933, out of a total population of 472,052.

THE ALLEY SYSTEM OF DWELLINGS; ITS RISE AND DEVELOPMENT

This rapid and unexpected inflation of a racial element of the city's population resulted in such a distressing situation for the Negro inhabitants that some immediate steps had to be taken on a large scale to relieve the congestion and accommodate the thousands of homeless migrants who were sleeping

⁶ Cf. Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Bulletin. *Population: District of Columbia*.

in tents or outdoors under trees. The solution was the origin and development of what has come to be known as "The Alley System of Dwellings."

The original structure of the city, which L'Enfant had planned, offered the only possible easy solution of the question of just how the Negro could be integrated into the externality of the life of the city of Washington. L'Enfant had blessed the city with wide and deep building lots. But, with the growth of the population, land values increased, and this made it necessary for spacious front yards to give way to solid rows of houses. Even the deep back yards were found to have an income producing value; for small two or three room houses could be built upon them, facing on the alleys. These alleys were originally thoroughfares designed for traffic purposes and other services. They were to afford convenient access to property for the removal of refuse or for sewer and water connections. It was the endeavor on the part of the white population to supply houses for the excess of Negroes—or, as was true in many cases, to exploit them financially—that caused the interior spaces of many squares to be utilized for residential purposes. Lots were cut in two, and the rear portions were separately sold. Gradually this became a prevalent practice throughout the city, and there grew up an extensive system of property holdings in the interior of blocks, and often quite independent of the ownership of the lots fronting on the surrounding streets.

Even though at one time these alleys—more politely referred to as "courts" or "rows"—had a considerable number of white inhabitants, they were originally and are now, chiefly, Negro habitats. So closely have the terms *Alleys* and *Negroes* been associated, that in the minds of most of the older citizens they are inseparable. Negroes were the original inhabitants of alleys and are destined to be the final occupants of the dwellings in these areas in the framework of the city.

This system of dwellings is more or less unique although it is not confined entirely to the city of Washington. Baltimore,

Philadelphia, Portland, Oregon, and Charleston, South Carolina have alley-dwelling systems. But the only ones of these that have alley problems compared to those of Washington are Charleston and Philadelphia. It is safe to say that Washington's alley problem heads the list. There were certain conditions, peculiar to the city of Washington, which fostered the alley system, viz., the original plan of the city and the wide spread myth that the seat of the federal government was a place of refuge for freed Negroes.

This alley system of housing has been in existence in Washington for more than sixty years, during which time, approximately 100,000 people have lived in and been influenced by its environment; and legislators and social workers have wrestled, more or less unsuccessfully, with its problems.

Alley property in Washington has always been a paying investment. Owners of alley houses commonly realize from 10 to 20 per cent returns, whereas all sensible real estate dealers agree that a five or seven per cent return would be a very good investment in a dwelling house. Only a few colored people own any of these houses. Most of them are owned by well-to-do white people, many of whom no longer live in Washington. Negroes who are interested in the purchase of homes do not buy alley houses. The President's Homes Commission, which was appointed by President Roosevelt, made an investigation in 1906 and 1907 of these alleys. It spent more than \$1,500 studying conditions. It found instances of one person owning as many as 32 of these houses. In some instances where the investment was \$400, twenty per cent of the investment was being received in rents.

The first houses which were built upon the alleys were often cheap frame structures, which paid for themselves within a few years. Later only brick structures were erected. The average size of the alley house is from two to four rooms, and, as a general rule, the rooms are small, and the houses poorly constructed. They are generally built directly on the ground, admitting dampness from the earth through the floors. This

fact alone disqualifies them as healthy dwellings. In the early days, none of the houses had running water or gas. There usually existed a community hydrant at the corner of the alley, and from this all the inhabitants secured their water. Open privies, not connected with the sewerage system, were in general use.

ATTEMPTS AT ABATEMENT

The erection of buildings on alleys for Negroes went on rapidly until it was arrested in July, 1892, by the enactment of a law prohibiting the erection of houses for dwelling purposes in alleys less than 30 feet wide and not supplied with sewage, water mains, and light, and which do not run straight to and open at right angles upon a public street. This was an important step in the right direction, and resulted in the formation of a number of organizations working for better conditions. This was not, however, the initial step in alley reclamation. For more than fifteen years previously the attention of the public had been arrested periodically by the complaints and appeals of the Board of Public Health and the charity organizations of the city. The living conditions in the alleys had become deplorable—so much so that they were seriously menacing the health and security of every element of the population throughout the entire city. In 1872 the alley population was estimated at almost 25,000, with the number of white persons estimated at about 3,000.

There were a number of early condemnations of alley dwellings prior to 1892. By a congressional enactment in 1871 the first Board of Health was created, which, in 1872, took its first steps toward improving these conditions. It formulated a specific ordinance covering the condemnation of insanitary buildings. And in 1874, acting under this ordinance, the Board condemned 389 buildings as unfit for human habitation—buildings which were for the most part frame and for which the rent varied from \$2.50 to \$10.00 per month. During the years from 1873 to 1877 inclusive, 958 houses were condemned.

About 200 of these buildings were entirely demolished and a large number of the remaining were repaired. It was only the opposition of the owners who had been securing the rentals from these houses that prevented the Board from destroying a great many more; for it had become a known fact, even as early as 1870, that alley property paid a higher rate of interest on the amount of money invested than street property.

That the Board of Health, at this time, was considering the dangerous effects of these insanitary conditions upon the health of the street residents, rather than those of the alleys, is shown from the following excerpt from its report of 1877:

Our experience in dealing with filth, crowd poison, and disease among these people during the past four years has taught us that the greatest public economy, viz., the preservation of public health, is defeated by allowing these filthy, worthless, dependent classes of humanity to congregate in the alleys and by-ways out of sight and, therefore, out of mind, until dire epidemic, incubated and nourished among them, spreads its black wings over the homes of the whole city . . ."

On June 11, 1878, Congress passed an act abolishing the first Board of Health and creating in its stead the office of Health Officer. It is significant to note that at this point the work of alley reclamation ceased. This was due, principally, to the fact that in the legislation of the health ordinances in 1880, the section under which the health department acted in the condemnation of insanitary dwellings was omitted. Whether this omission was an oversight or was secured by the influence of men whose money interests were at stake, is not known. But it was twelve long years before any further remedial legislation was enacted, and, during those years, new houses were constantly erected. Alley property had proved a paying investment and brick had succeeded wood as building material.

The erection of these alley structures was not prohibited until the Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Dwellings was created by an act of Congress in 1892, empowered to pre-

¹ *Report of the Board of Health of the District of Columbia, 1877.*

vent further building of houses for habitation in small alleys. The provision of this law made it necessary to change these alleys into minor streets before any more houses could be built upon them.

Other organizations had also been at work from a very early period. The Civic Center, which was formed in 1894, concentrated its resources upon the question of bettering conditions in the alleys. Its committee on housing employed an agent for one month, in the spring of 1896, to make a house-to-house investigation. The Woman's Anthropological Society was invited to coöperate in this survey, and it contributed the services of Miss Clare DeGraffenried for one month's assistance in this work. Her report, entitled *Typical Alley Houses In Washington*, published in pamphlet form, was based upon an intensive study of 13 alleys, covering 50 family dwellings—occupied by 248 individuals. Miss DeGraffenried's investigation proved, among other things, that the alley dwellings were greatly overcrowded; that inconceivable insanitary conditions prevailed; and that the alleys were generally characterized by very low standards of morality. This investigation also established the fact that there were many dwellings unfit for human habitation. As a result of this survey and its recommendations, the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company was organized in April, 1897, for the purpose of providing homes for alley residents and thereby remove the "slums". This company had General George M. Sternberg as its president, Mr. John Joy Edson as its treasurer, and Dr. George M. Kober as its secretary. It also had a body of well-known and distinguished citizens composing its board of directors.

During the summer of 1897, the Sanitary Improvement Company erected its first dwellings on Bates Street, between P and Q and First and North Capitol Streets. In the construction of these houses, special attention was given to sanitation, lighting, and ventilation. Each house was provided with a frontage of seventeen and one half feet, and consisted of two independent apartments—one on each floor, and each with a

separate yard, bathroom, and cellar. Some of these houses were built with four-room flats, while others had only the three rooms. The initial rents in 1897 were \$12 or \$12.50 per month for the four-room flats and \$9.50 and \$10.00 for the smaller ones. Added to these low and attractive rentals was a rebate of one month's rent every year to tenants whose apartments had not required any repairs.

It was considered advisable to begin this movement by providing improved dwellings for the better classes of wage-earners, with the belief that the houses vacated by them would be rented by the next lowest economic class, and so on. The fact is that thrifty mechanics and others, who were anxious to reduce the amount of their rents and get ahead, moved into these new houses, leaving the higher priced inconvenient dwellings for those less energetic than themselves. The end result was that the alley resident remained where he was. The Washington Sanitary Improvement Company has, however, been a financial success, and has been highly beneficial to the people occupying its houses, and to other wage earners in the city; for landlords have been forced by the competition to provide better houses at more reasonable rents. Another result was seen in the effect of these sanitary dwellings upon the morbidity and mortality rates of the Negro population in Washington. The death rate of occupants of houses owned by the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company is lower than the general death rate among the white population of the entire city.

The fact that this company endeavored to pay a five per cent dividend to its investors militated somewhat against the realization of its original purposes, because this dividend did not permit low enough rentals for day-laborers, laundresses, and so forth, to avail themselves of these homes. Hence, it was proposed to discontinue this company's program of erecting homes for a time, at least, and to organize a new company paying only four per cent on the investment.⁸ The Sanitary

⁸ Recently this company has found the four per cent investment unprofitable, and has increased the rate of interest to six per cent.

Housing Company was therefore organized in 1904 by many of the same persons who were interested in the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company. A charter was secured from Congress providing that the capital stock of the company should be \$25,000, and not to exceed \$500,000.⁹ It was also made unlawful for any directors to declare any dividend exceeding four per cent per annum, upon the capital stock outstanding at the time of any such dividend.

This new housing company erected sixty-nine two-family houses with the flats varying from three to five rooms in size, and renting for from \$7.50 to \$12.50 per month. This company erected its first houses on Franklin Street, N. W., and Van Street, S. W. Later several structures were erected on M Street S. W. By 1912, 138 families were occupying these houses—80 of which were Negro and 58 white. The number of houses that had been erected by the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company, at the time of the cessation of its building activity, was 289 two-family houses, which were accommodating 578 families—208 of which were colored and 370 white.

In addition to the efforts of these two companies to rescue the alley population from its degradation, several other lines of interest in the "Alley problem" had risen to the surface of the public's consciousness. In 1903 and 1904 articles began appearing in various newspapers and magazines, dealing with the alley situation in Washington. And in 1907 the *History and Development of the Housing Movement In Washington* was written by Dr. George Kober, and published in pamphlet form by the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company. During the same year, President Roosevelt appointed a commission of fifteen members to investigate living conditions in the city of Washington. It was called "The President's Homes Commission." Its report was published in 1908. A year later a book entitled *Neglected Neighbors* was written and published

⁹ George M. Kober, *The History and Development of the Housing Movement in the City of Washington, D. C.*, p. 39.

by Mr. Charles F. Weller, who was at that time General Secretary of the Associated Charities. Mr. Weller had also assisted the President's Homes Commission in its investigation. Mr. Weller lived for some time in one of the alleys and also in two of the tenements occupied by Negroes. His book is the result of careful, full, and sympathetic observation of the alley population and their living conditions.

Since about 1906, the needs of these alley dwellers have been looked after by the Associated Charities, Instructive Visiting Nurse Association, and other charitable agencies. Other organizations have also contributed to the improvement of conditions. The Health Department, though seriously handicapped financially, has kept up a fight for the improvement of sanitary conditions. The Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Dwellings has wrecked approximately four hundred of these alley houses. The Washington Evening *Star* launched, in 1912, "The Clean City Campaign," which resulted in the hauling away of 33 wagon loads of refuse from one alley and the yards in the surrounding block. This campaign greatly improved the sanitary conditions in several of the alleys.

In 1911 and 1912, there came a recrudescence of the original enthusiasm to rid Washington of these "eye sores." Various organizations—religious, civic, and otherwise—appointed alley or housing committees which held frequent meetings in private homes or in churches for purposes of formulating definite programs in order that definite steps might be taken to initiate a reform. The organization, known as the "Men and Religion Forward Movement," aided in calling attention to the problem of the alleys in Washington. This work of amelioration now began with a new fervor. The Housing Committee of the Monday Evening Club, with Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones as Chairman, was active in giving illustrated lectures and spreading other forms of propaganda. One valuable result of this activity was the publication in 1912 of the first and only complete Directory of Inhabited Alleys. This inventory was edited by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones. It gave to future organizations a

much needed working basis for their alley surveys. Hitherto, it had been almost impossible to find certain alleys on account of their secluded interior location.

Negro agencies have also carried on considerable constructive improvement work among alley dwellers. In 1907, a center was established, under the leadership of Miss Emily Cook, in Blagden's Alley, situated in the northwest section of the city, between 9th and 10th Streets and M and N Streets. A special house was rented for that purpose, at \$9.60 per month. Boys, girls, and women's clubs were organized, and the inhabitants of this alley were given instruction in gardening, flower growing, and so forth.

The Alley Improvement Association, another organization designed to deal with the problems of the alley, and composed of colored persons, was active in alley work for a number of years. It held Sunday Schools, and Mothers' and Children's Temperance and Social Betterment Meetings. The story is told that at one of these Sunday school meetings, which was held in a private home in Snow's Court, the head of the house lay in the room in a drunken sleep throughout the service.

The following white churches have made surveys of alleys in Washington:

St. Andrews—Cedar Court and Waverly Terrace.

Washington Heights Presbyterian—Champlain Court.

Unitarian—Green's Court.

St. Margaret's Protestant Episcopal—Hughes Court.

Emanuel Baptist—O'Connor's Court.

Second Presbyterian—Ward Alley.

Inseparably linked with the fight against the inhabited alleys in Washington is the name, Mrs. Archibald Hopkins. Mrs. Hopkins is a member of the Dupont Circle Citizens' Association. Her efforts to better the conditions of the alleys and to rid the city of the slums cover a period of more than twenty-five years. During these years, she has worked conscientiously to keep these deplorable conditions before the attention of the Congress of the United States.

For more than a month, Mrs. Hopkins, accompanied by Mrs. Ellen Wilson, wife of President Woodrow Wilson, made daily observation tours of the inhabited alleys of Washington.

In 1915, Mrs. Hopkins organized the campaign for the Ellen Wilson Memorial Fund which was to be used for constructing model homes for the alley dwellers. This drive resulted in the raising of a sum of about thirty thousand dollars, which was invested in houses.

THE ALLEY AS A SOCIAL SITUATION

The alleys represent the poorest and least resourceful sections of Washington and foster a large percentage of its crime, poverty, disease, immorality, and high rate of infant mortality. They constitute environments which are isolated from the rest of the city's life—out of sight, out of the public mind, and relatively free from police supervision. People who live in alleys do not have bearing upon them the restraining influence of the daily observation of their better neighbors. They usually make up a vicious circle, because they have no one to inspire them with any better conditions.

The environment of the alley is very narrow, due to the lack of social contact with the outside life of the city. Some of these people are unaware of the most significant happenings in Washington outside of their secluded surroundings. They often subscribe to no newspapers, and depend merely upon hearsay and gossip for their information. The carriers of news are the men and women who work outside the alleys. This information usually relates to personalities and scandal. The alleys are the neuclei of a certain retrograde kind of Negro culture. They are now the habitats of a class of people who are unable, or who do not wish, to measure up to white cultural standards. They do not have an inclination to enter into the more severe forms of competition. The alleys are usually not so situated that they can be viewed by the public. Hence progress is slow in extending into those communities which

escape the eye of organized public opinion and the white man's commercial interests. This investigation revealed the fact that those alleys that are frequented by transfer companies and shipping agents are invariably more wholesome and less anti-social than those that are seldom visited by persons from the white world. Wherever the white man's interests do not penetrate the alley inhabitants remain on a very low level of culture. A certain class of people prefer the alley life, because it enables them to escape responsibility to the wider phases of society. Few of these alleys open directly upon a public street so that passersby may look through the full length of them. Most of them are entirely cut off from observers—except those who come into the alley for business purposes, or for purposes of inspection. It is this segregation of alley life from the streets and avenues and the general life of the city that renders it harmful. Most of these alleys can only be reached through a ten- or fifteen-foot traffic alley, which leads into a thirty-foot square—just a blind alley, having no other ingress or egress.

REASONS WHY PEOPLE LIVE IN ALLEYS

The reasons why people live in alleys instead of on the streets may be classified as follows:

First, because they are ignorant and poor; second, because they want to be free from public control; third, because it is a social habit, a tradition—the descendants of alley dwellers are the continuous inhabitants of alleys—; fourth, because of strong sentimental attachments; fifth, because of the desire for security and the fear of change.

There are nearly always houses for rent within a few blocks of the alleys, on streets, at reasonable rentals. But the alley dwellers continue to live under these wretched conditions. A small number of these houses on streets rent for no more than do those in the alleys. But it was found that many of the alley inhabitants were ignorant of these facts. It should be stated, however, that in general the same class of house on the

streets as the one in the alley rents for at least half that much more. For example, a \$15 house in the alley will rent for \$25 on the street.

PATHOLOGICAL FEATURES

One index of the unwholesomeness of the life of the alley is seen in its close correlation with the factors of crime, morbidity, and mortality. Despite the fact that the alleys have been paved and sewers put in, the death rate continues to be higher than that of the Negro inhabitants of the streets. The alley death rates were not stated in the reports of the Health Officer until about 1908.

The fact that the larger percentage of the alley population has been made up of Negroes has been one of the disturbing or determining factors in the alley death rate. From 1872 to 1890 the alley population was roughly estimated at 25,000 people. In 1913, according to the report of the Police Census, there were 11,326 persons in the alleys, of whom only 994 were white. Just a few years prior to this date, the number was 16,000. The decrease had been caused partially by the enhancement of public interest through publicity, but, chiefly, by the condemnation of insanitary dwellings and the destruction of the houses in the Willow Tree Alley. In 1925, the Police census reported 331 for the white alley population and 12,867 for the colored—showing a rather marked increase since 1913 in the number of colored alley dwellers. The author's own investigation and that of the city Building Inspector in 1927 disclosed only about 9,000 alley inhabitants.

Morbidity and Mortality.—Every year since records began to be kept, there has been a higher mortality rate among colored people in alleys than that among them on the streets. The particular diseases that are responsible for the higher death rate in the alleys are those of the respiratory system—tuberculosis and whooping cough—and diseases of infancy. During the period from 1905 to 1912, inclusive, the annual death rate among colored people living in the alleys from tuberculosis was

600 per 100,000. The corresponding death rate on the streets was but 418.¹⁰ The tuberculosis death rate in alleys is high, partly because of the class of people who live in them, and partly because of the deficiency of air and light. The same is true of pneumonia—due also, to a considerable extent, to bad air. The colored death rate in alleys in 1914 was 372 per hundred thousand as against 293 on the streets.

Table No. I shows the comparison of the street and alley death rates by health districts for the year 1914, based on the report of the Department of Public Health. In twenty-one of these districts the alley death rate greatly exceeds that of the street. In districts one, five, six, nine, fifteen, sixteen, eighteen, and forty-nine the mortality rate of the alleys ranged from twice to four times as high as that of streets. This close correlation between alley life and high mortality rate shows, unquestionably, a causal relation between the housing and living conditions of the alley and sickness and death.

The children under two years of age live or spend more of their time in the alleys than do the adults. Since they have no permanent activities, in other parts of the city, and are not at an age at which they attend schools or churches, their every hour is spent in the alleys. Among this class of colored children, the alley death rate from diarrheal diseases alone is 265 per hundred thousand; whereas, on the streets, it is but 159.

¹⁰ Statement made by Dr. Wm. C. Woodward, Health Officer of the District of Columbia in 1914, before the Senate Committee of the Sixty-third Congress. Senate Document.

TABLE I
Mortality Rates of the District of Columbia Computed on the Basis of a
Study of Twenty-six Health Districts, 1914.

District	Total Population		Alley Population		Mortality Rates			
	White	Colored	White	Col.	White	Col.	Street	Alley
No. 1 . . .	11,755	6,385	35	226	10.64	16.29	12.19	42.14
No. 2 . . .	5,925	4,435	61	738	10.29	18.71	13.16	22.52
No. 3 . . .	6,880	3,412	7	688	18.02	22.56	19.28	23.02
No. 4 . . .	2,226	1,737	4	139	10.22	21.88	18.72	27.97
No. 5 . . .	8,064	10,501	22	162	17.11	21.62	19.12	31.88
No. 6 . . .	14,067	930	0	419	14.08	22.11	14.98	35.80
No. 7 . . .	7,593	652	27	82	19.62	42.94	21.50	18.34
No. 8 . . .	13,305	2,265	128	883	14.21	35.99	16.26	29.67
No. 9 . . .	11,014	11,094	42	2,008	14.89	26.59	18.89	39.02
No. 10 . .	12,046	3,647	207	808	15.86	26.60	17.92	24.63
No. 11 . .	1,576	6,611	91	884	12.67	24.05	21.62	23.58
No. 12 . .	2,753	3,834	1	392	15.25	29.47	23.73	20.35
No. 14 . .	14,503	2,289	238	495	15.38	30.14	17.37	16.38
No. 15 . .	10,607	2,425	2	484	14.71	22.36	16.39	34.98
No. 16 . .	6,019	2,614	61	107	11.29	25.63	15.00	47.62
No. 17 . .	13,718	2,403	5	227	12.39	19.56	13.34	21.55
No. 18 . .	10,061	1,509	2	343	10.20	25.84	11.67	31.88
No. 19 . .	3,362	1,023	0	21	10.23	26.39	15.58	.....
No. 33 . .	6,978	1,571	0	0	10.32	19.10	.....	.....
No. 34 . .	801	2,413	0	198	12.48	45.59	38.13	25.25
No. 35 . .	8,894	2,775	0	22	10.79	26.67	14.51	.....
No. 36 . .	12,352	1,496	0	0	9.39	20.05	.....	.....
No. 48 . .	5,000	2,362	5	141	15.40	15.66	15.66	6.85
No. 49 . .	1,292	549	56	51	18.57	47.36	23.06	93.47
No. 50 . .	6,414	1,160	.....	.....	15.43	33.62	17.79	.....

The following comparison of deaths per 1,000 in 1910 for streets and alleys, according to age periods, shows that more than a third of the alley children die under one year of age:

TABLE II
Comparative Mortality Rates for Alleys & Streets¹¹

Age	Rate for Alleys	Rate for Streets
All ages.....	30.09	17.56
Under 1 year.....	373.49	158.66
From 1 to 4 years.....	30.82	16.75
From 5 to 20 years.....	7.84	5.25
Over 20 years.....	27.05	18.08

It was found, also, that the death rate of white people living in alleys from pulmonary tuberculosis and pneumonia, and of white children under two years of age, has always been greater than that for white people living in street dwellings.

The following table presents the percentage of deaths per 100,000 for the four leading diseases:

TABLE III
Percentage of Deaths According to Disease

Cause of Death	Whites		Colored	
	Alleys	Streets	Alleys	Streets
Pneumonia.....	310.9	117.9	423.8	188.1
Tuberculosis.....	186.5	121.2	621.3	433.7
Whooping Cough.....	62.2	5.3	21.9	15.6
Diarrhoea (under two years).....	62.2	36.8	321.6	137.8

¹¹ Figures taken from the report of the Health Officer for 1910.

Illegitimacy.—In 1914,¹¹ the attention of public officials was called to the fact that the birth of illegitimate children was one out of every two born to colored alley mothers, while among those born to colored mothers living in homes on the streets, the average was only one to every five. In other words, fifty per cent of the children born to alley mothers are illegitimate, whereas only twenty per cent of those born to Negro mothers on the streets are illegitimate.

Family Disorganization.—An abnormal proportion of alley families are without male bread-winners. Hence, a large number of widows and deserted wives—not to mention the high percentage of unmarried mothers—may be found in the alleys. The alley also harbors a large number of old people—chiefly old women—who are unable to do a full day's work, and who have no savings put away for their old age, or have only such small savings as permit them to live in alleys. There is also a larger number of victims of industrial accidents and industrial diseases. Moreover, there is a large number of families in which the husband or father is a victim of tuberculosis.

Crime and Viciousness.—The alleys have always provided frightfully anti-social environments. At the present time, they do not quite measure up to their past record of viciousness. Temperance Court, Snow's Court, and Armour Court are "not what they used to be." They have lost a great deal of their old element of anti-social behavior. But the records of some of these alleys, even at the present time, are such that policemen are afraid to visit them—especially at night. These environments are the constant scenes of bootlegging, gambling, fights, and manslaughter. A picture of these anti-social conditions which prevail in alleys is portrayed in the following descriptions taken from the personal notes of two female investigators:¹²

¹¹ According to the report of the Health Officer of the District of Columbia.

¹² Unpublished manuscript.

In one of these alleys, we were told by one of the men that he used his liquor as an "eye-opener," or, in times of trouble, as a source of consolation. This seemed to be typical of all these people, and the natural conclusion we drew was that their eyes were often closed and times of trouble prevailed always. . . . While in one house, a very fine looking young man entered, asked for one member of a gang, and immediately gave a series of instructions.

Upon command, this young man left the house, asking us to wait a few minutes for his return. This we did, and when he returned, we both had to wonder if this were the same man who had just left, because of the seemingly added weight around his chest. In a few moments, he began to pull from under a sweater jars of liquor that had been stolen that he might carry on his part of the liquor trade.

Again, we entered another one of these bootlegging joints—there to find a woman as the main character. While we were there, a very well dressed and charming woman entered the house, asked the madam of the house to "slip" her a gallon, and immediately pulled from under her coat a shopping bag into which this gallon jug was placed. Upon leaving the house, we were all invited to attend a party which she was sponsoring a few doors below. All of this went on within a period of less than ten minutes. So we could readily see that the liquor trade was the chief livelihood of these people.

In the life of the alley, we found every kind of vice. Along with the liquor trading goes that of so-called "Hot goods." The majority of these people have very beautiful and expensive clothes. And when seen on the main streets, one would never think that their trail led to such homes as those from which they come. While discussing this subject with one young woman, we learned that she was the proud owner of four fur coats. On her fingers were beautiful and flashy diamonds—all of which elegance she considered merely as a matter of fact. She considered that these coats and diamonds were all stolen property that had been sold to her for a "song."

We have found no tendency, whatsoever, on the part of these people to be suspicious or to resent any questions concerning their livelihood. When asked if they would rather live on T Street or Florida Avenue, the unhesitating reply was, "No, I am satisfied."

Upon visiting a home in one of the alleys in the Southwest, we were met at the door by a very beautiful young woman, who invited us in. Immediately, our attention was caught by a clever looking little fellow playing on the floor. During the interview, we managed to ask the name of the father of this little fellow. Immediately, the young woman replied, "This is my son, but he has no father." When we asked her if she had ever been married, she exclaimed emphatically, "No," and

stated that she had no idea of doing so soon. In this same home were two young women, two men, and two children. There were no ties that bound either of these couples, but, yet, these illegitimate children were forced to face the cold world. Being an unmarried mother seems to be nothing of which these young women are ashamed. Rather, it is something of which they boast.

A strange and marked feature is the fact that in all of our visitations we found no houses of ill-repute—no evidence of prostitution. We found these people quite human, though society seems to ostracize them.

In three out of every five homes visited, we were greeted at the door by men. Seemingly, the life of the alley family depends almost entirely upon the female supporter. Many men made the explanation that masculine employment was rather hard to secure. Whether this is absolutely true or not is doubtful. In most instances, the woman was found to be the financial manager, and the productive wage earner of the family. Some men were found supporting their families ordinarily, but with a sense of freedom from anxiety because they realize that in any time of emergency or special stress the wife can readily take up the burden. Laundry work and domestic service account for the fact that colored women can often get work more readily than can colored men. The limitations and difficulties by which colored men are handicapped in finding employment are perhaps a partial excuse for a common class of men called "lovers."

When we entered Glick's Alley, instead of being greeted by a woman in one of the houses, we were met by a harsh, burly man. His occupation was that of a member of a gang that had as its premium bootlegging and thievery. He stated that this work was quite dangerous and uncertain, and that he never knew exactly just how long he would be able to escape the hands of the law. This type of occupation enabled him to be at home a great deal, where his work was that of looking after a six-year-old child that is being brought up as a juvenile member of his gang. The mother of this child is a regular worker. Daily she goes to her job in order to meet the demands of her home. When both the father and mother are out, a young male boarder and member of this same underworld gang is kind enough to take care of this little child. This all goes to prove that within the domains of the alleys it is a typical fact that women work more or less steadily while man's work is quite unstable.

Of the many types of work open to colored women, that of domestic service is the most common to alley women. Not in a single case did we find a woman who did not perform domestic work. This type of servitude seems to please these women. They are happy to be doing this work, and happiness and satisfaction are the two experiences which they crave most.

The majority of the male alley dwellers are common laborers or seasonal workers. In one family we found four adults and three children. Two of these adults were men, neither of whom had secured any work this year. One was in ill health, and was only able to work at light jobs. But these were so scarce that he had made almost no money within the period of a year.

When these persons are unable to secure work legitimately, some artificial method of self-preservation must present itself. Hence, in many cases, we found the men of these alleys—both married and unmarried—living on the earnings of the members of the opposite sex. On the corner of one alley, there is an apartment, on the second floor of which lives a young woman who receives the bulk of her livelihood from the sale of liquor. Among her many friends is a young man for whom she affirms a willingness to give her life. His commands are religiously obeyed by her, while his only job is that of maintaining a reasonable amount of order about the house. And this is quite an easy task, because of his physical superiority. For this work, he is adequately clothed, housed, and fed.

In many of the alley homes surveyed, there are quite a large number of children. The reply to our inquiries about their health was usually "good." But careful observation convinced us that many are the offspring of parents afflicted with some form of social disease. Nothing seems to be too immoral for the eyes of these little ones. In one home, a party was in process, and in addition to the most vulgar forms of dancing, gambling, card playing, profanity, and drinking were pronounced features. Everything that would tend to lower the ideals of these children was being carried on around them. And, since they have always lived in these isolated spots, they appear perfectly satisfied and not the least bit amazed.

The mother of one alley child was found to be an art teacher in one of the public schools. Though very young, she had been married twice, and this child was a very clever little son from her first marriage. She stated that her first husband was allowed to visit the child, but that she bore all the financial responsibilities of rearing him. The husband works as an electrician in one of the downtown theatres, and was at one time a student in the Mechanical Engineering Department of Howard University.

If liquor holds first place in the lives of the alley inhabitants, robbery and theft hold second place. According to their code of ethics, there is no harm in taking that which does not belong to them, if "the going is easy." One man stated that when he is cheated he does not seek vengeance—but only takes it as a part of his life and congratulates the cheater upon being better than he. This man also gave us a full account of his

life. He was a member of a gang that practiced bootlegging and robbery, and which had even gone so far as to commit a murder. This, he said, was cleverly done, and, as yet, none of the guilty members of his gang had been apprehended by the police.

Alleys and the Inferiority Complex.—Occasionally the inhabitants of these alleys attempt to rise above their sordid environment. A typical example of this was manifested in the touching appeal which the residents of "Goat Alley" made a few years ago to the city commissioners, asking that their alley be designated by a more respectable name than the one which it had. They called attention to the fact that its present title did not tend to inspire self-respect in the man or woman who has his or her address there. The commissioners stated that they could not change the name, because this power was reserved to Congress.

There are other alleys which bear opprobrious epithets, such as *Hog Alley*, *Tin Can Alley*, *Louse Alley*—now *Armour Court*—*Tiger Alley*, *Moonshine Alley*, *Pig Alley*, *Pork Steak Alley*, *Chinch Row*, *Cabbage Alley*, and *Coon's Alley*. None of these names tend to promote self-respect. There are, however, a few of the alleys which bear names that are extremely dignified, but have inhabitants that are of the lowest type—persons who reflect discredit upon such suggestive titles as *St. Mary's Court*, *Waverly Terrace*, *Temperance Avenue*, *Snow's Court*, *Marble Hall Court*, and *Fenton Place*.

The exodus from these alleys has been, in part, the result of the educational efforts of philanthropic agencies. Mrs. Albert N. Wood, Chairman of the Municipal Housing Committee of the Washington branch of the National Civic Federation, made a survey of four of the more populous alleys which had a total population of 540. She found among a great many of these people a strong desire to get away from the alleys or to apologize for their being there. Their children, especially, had come to feel that it is derogatory to live in an alley. And, at the present time, the little children whom one meets on the streets are sometimes ashamed to say that they

live in undesirable places of the city. Several years ago, it was not considered dishonorable to live in an alley. Some of Washington's leading Negroes were born in a "court." But now, to live in an alley is to be considered *déclassé*, and the people who want to be considered among the better classes are getting out of these isolated degraded environments. Social workers and other interested individuals have been urging these people to leave the alleys, and the result has been that a process of social selection has been constantly draining away the better elements of the alley population—the self-respecting, forward-looking people—leaving only the vicious to infect the life of the alleys with crime and immorality. Hence, these places are becoming more and more the abode of the Negro underworld.

THE ALLEYS AS THE NATURAL HABITATS OF THE OLDEST NEGRO INHABITANTS

In the study of the composition of the Negro population and its significance in the ecology of the city, one finds the alleys to be the original and natural habitats of some of the oldest Washingtonians. Here one encounters some "old-timers"—old women who smoke pipes and chew tobacco and are rich in reminiscences, and who can boast of having lived in the same house for more than fifty years. It is almost impossible to persuade these older alley inhabitants to move onto the streets. Those who have lived in the same houses for forty or fifty years would be tremendously frustrated if they had to transfer their living quarters to some other locality.

Some years ago, Mrs. Pinchot promised to pay the entire moving expense of an old woman who had lived in the same alley house for twenty-six years, but the Housing Committee of the National Civic Federation could not prevail upon her to move out. The only manner in which to get some of these people to leave the alley is to compel them by law.

Negroes were the original inhabitants of the alleys, and are destined to be their final occupants. So long as the alleys are

allowed to remain as places of dwelling, just so long will they be inhabited by colored people. It is interesting to note that the figures of the Police Census show that the number of residents in the alleys is decreasing very slowly. According to the Police Census of 1897, there were 333 alleys with a total population of 18,978, or one in every twelve of the entire population of 236,587, with which this census credited the city. Of this number of alley inhabitants, 16,828 were colored and 2,150 were white. The Police Census of 1909 named 286 alleys, housing 19,076 people. In 1908, the police department enumerated 261 alleys with a population of 14,237 Negroes and 1,614 white persons—a total of 15,851 people as compared with 263,777 in the city as a whole, or 339,403 in the entire District of Columbia.

At one time, the worst conditions were found in the alleys of Southwest Washington, but it now appears that the alleys of the northwest section far outdistance those of any other section of the city with reference to the dangerous conditions which they foster.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE ALLEY PROBLEM

Notwithstanding the repeated attacks which have been made on the alleys by civic and social agencies, they still remain in almost the same grave conditions which characterized them in 1914, to gnaw at the very roots of the health and moral life of the city. The status of the inhabited alleys is at the present time the most crucial of their entire history, because, having reached a point of diminution, they are in danger of dropping out of public consciousness. There are, however, a few exceptions where, e. g., they serve as well-built residential garages connected with residences in decent squares. The alleys, as places of human habitation, can be abolished, and, for the welfare of the entire city and the alley people in particular, they should be abolished. Alleys are necessary parts of the city's anatomy, since they facilitate the removal of garbage and ashes

and the bringing in of food supplies. They play, also, an essential rôle in the commercial and trade life of the city, since many of the business concerns do all their shipping from the alleys. But they are most undesirable as places of residence, for they harbor crime and immorality, breed disease and destruction, and stifle human progress.

The gradual processes of the demolition of the houses and the destruction of the alleys themselves are too slow. It is true that many of these houses have been changed into garages, stables, and machine shops, and that several alleys near the downtown business section have disappeared, because the valuable land in the center of these blocks—occupied only by a few wretched dwellings—was demanded for business purposes. But this has only taken place in the northwest section of the city—the other sections have remained, for the most part, unaffected by these changes in the life of the city. Of the 273 listed alleys, 159 have fewer than 10 houses. Hence, the remaining 114 constitute the undesirable social condition with which the city must continue to struggle.

Considerable fear has been expressed lest the elimination of the alleys as places of dwelling should work an unnecessary hardship upon their present inhabitants. In 1914, Reverend J. Milton Waldron, the President of the Alley Improvement Association—a Negro organization—appeared before the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives of the Second Session of the Sixty-third Congress at the hearing of bill H. R. 13219, and made a strong request that no unnecessary hardship be worked upon the poor alley people by the work of reclamation. He expressed, also, the wish that it could be done in a way that would give them the least amount of inconvenience, and the least amount of expense.

Every caution should be taken against doing unnecessary injury to a helpless class of people, but areas of the city that are shielded and isolated, and are, thereby, rendezvous for anti-social individuals, should—regardless of a certain amount of temporary injury—be eliminated. The removal of these

people from the alleys will, undoubtedly, accrue to their benefit, rather than to their disadvantage. Captain Doyle of the Eighth Police Precinct, stated that, with full consideration of all the phases of the problem, the only fair statement which he could make was that "these alley people ought to be made to come out onto the streets where they can get the sunlight and fresh air, and where the public eye can watch them."

In carrying out this work of reclamation one or all of the following procedures could be used:

(1) The conversion of the larger, more thickly populated alleys into minor streets—streets having roadways less than 40 feet wide or 60 feet from building line to building line. The minor street would allow the police to look through the entire length of it. It would be safe and sanitary, and, at the same time, would house more people than the queerly constructed "blind" or "pocket" alleys, which are completely hidden from public view. This method, owing to its expense, could probably be applied only to the larger alleys.

(2) The demolition of the houses in some of the larger alleys and the conversion of the space into playgrounds. In 1914, the Washington Playground Association and the National Civic Federation recommended that the following alleys be transformed into playgrounds: Goat's Alley, Snow's Court, Burden's Court, and Rock Court. This procedure seems to be favored at the present time by the Director of the Department of Playgrounds for the District of Columbia, but a significant objection was registered by the District Surveyor, who believes that all playgrounds should be out in public view and not hidden away in the interior of blocks. He objects, strongly, to the "playground solution" of the alley problem, and advocates the minor street. The theory of the District Surveyor seems to be the more practicable and tenable.

(3) The conversion of some of the larger alleys near the trade area into parking spaces. This would, in a sense, alleviate the serious traffic problem in the downtown and commercial areas of the city.

(4) The use of coercive legislation, which is the only method by which all the alleys of the city can be cleared entirely of their inhabitants. There is no ground for maintaining that the moving of these people out of the alleys by the use of definite legal pressure would work any serious hardship—other than slight discomforts that might result from having to sever sentimental attachments to familiar places. It is true that poor people must live somewhere, but they should not be allowed to live in the interior courts of the geographical blocks of the city.

These alley people can be moved either to the suburbs of the city or into the houses vacated by persons who have moved into the new buildings, which are being so rapidly constructed for colored people, or into homes formerly occupied by white people. At the present time, the various construction companies are supplying the Negro population of Washington with hundreds of new individual homes and apartments. A considerable number of the alley dwellers have already migrated to the suburbs, and an investigation of their homes shows that they are much better off than they were in the alleys. Here one sees almost none of the idleness and viciousness that are such characteristic aspects of the life in the blind alleys. In these outlying communities, they are living a healthier, happier, more wholesome, and more industrious life.

CHAPTER II

THE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE ECOLOGICAL* ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON

ITS GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Unlike most American cities, Washington has no specific geographical localization of its Negro population. Instead of a definitely bounded territory into which almost the entire Negro population is crowded, there are scattered communities which distribute the Negro population throughout practically the entire city. Negroes live "all over Washington." This seems always to have been true. The allocation and distribution of the Negro population in Washington has been conditioned by the processes of economic competition and racial antagonism. Although there are many exclusive white communities, most of them are bordered by smaller and less pretentious homes of colored persons. It appears that the alley system has been partially responsible for this wide distribution of Washington's Negro inhabitants. It is a fact, however, that, with the exception of the newer additions to the metropolitan area of the city—such as Massachusetts Park, English Village, etc.—Negroes live now, and have lived, for a number of years, within a stone's throw—in one direction or another—of almost every block in the city, including those made prominent by government buildings or heralded personages. A typical example of this is seen in the fact that Negroes live just around the corner from the Chinese and Canadian Legations.

It would not be serious exaggeration to state that Negroes live in every residential block in Washington, either as residents or as servants in somebody else's household. One's attention is frequently arrested by the sight of an ordinary-looking house, occupied by Negroes, attached to an imposing mansion of a

* See definition on page 21.

white millionaire, or the presence of two or three small shacks—Negro homes—in the very center of an aristocratic block. Such residential interrelations are in no sense uncommon in Washington.

So far as the ecological organization of the city of Washington of sixty years ago can be reconstructed from the personal recollections of the oldest citizens, Negroes formed small communities in Georgetown and the Southwest section of the city, in localities which were for the most part undesirable for white residential areas. These communities were usually near or adjacent to the commercial or trade districts. Southwest Washington, the oldest section of the city, and at one time the locality where well-to-do Washingtonians lived, has figured prominently in the natural history of the Negro population in this city. Even though the metabolism of the city and the forces of mobility have greatly changed its characteristics, these sections still present remnants of the accommodations of their early Negro inhabitants. But, just as the white population shifted and expanded, and its communities disintegrated and reintegrated in a process which involved wider geographical dimensions, so the Negro population and the Negro communities had their positions in the organization of the city determined by numerous geographical, psychological, and ecological factors. The natural history of the Negro population in Washington cannot be understood except in its relation to the natural history of the white population. The expansion of Negro communities and neighborhoods has been conditioned by the city's general growth and development. At whatever stage one may chance to make an ecological study of the city, he will find that the types of homes occupied by Negroes, their geographical localization, the density of the population, and the cultural characteristics of their communities and neighborhoods are determined either directly or indirectly by the attitudes, interests, and changes in the white population. The Negro inhabitants of the city do not constitute an entirely isolated unit in the social organization of Washington. There are

definite forces in the life of this city as a whole which determine the sizes of Negro communities, the nature of their boundaries, and the direction of their expansion.

EXPANSION OF THE POPULATION

The economic and cultural evolution of the Negro population and its numerical increase necessitated its expansion out of the original habitats, such as the alleys and other undesirable localities, which it had appropriated or had assigned to it in the initial adjustment to the life of the city, into areas which had more highly developed cultural patterns and institutions. In moving out of the old residential sections, such as Georgetown and the Southwest, the Negro population has had the direction of its mobility determined by a complex of factors. The facts show that the expansion has usually been along certain trade and transportation routes, which radiate from their original communities. These radials are the points of exit from congested localities bordered by white residential areas which attempt to exclude the Negro. But there generally exist certain weak spots in these barriers, which permit an escape. The infusion of trade into certain white residential areas tends to disorganize such communities, because commercial influences render the population heterogenous. White people with considerable social and economic status—the class that is capable of maintaining the racial solidarity of the community by prejudice and public opinion—do not prefer to live in culturally heterogenous communities. Hence, with the invasion of trade and industry, the solidarity of the neighborhood is destroyed, white people begin to sell their property willingly, out of fear of who might become their neighbors, and the Negro is given a chance to “creep in.” Areas which have been invaded by commercial activities usually become disorganized, and are abandoned by the more influential white people to foreigners or Negroes. The history of the mobility of the Negro population in Washington is chiefly that of radial ex-

pansion along trade and transportation routes. But this expansion is not along the more important commercial arteries where land values are extremely high. It follows routes where land values are average, along such streets as Eleventh, Sherman Avenue, Georgia Avenue, U Street, Florida Avenue and Seventh Street—these are a few of the typical expansion streets. No marked degree of expansion has taken place north of U Street on 14th Street or between 13th and 14th Streets. This has been a law of successful Negro expansion into white residential districts, and, when it has been violated—when Negroes have made abrupt invasions of white communities more or less remote from Negro areas—considerable opposition has been encountered.

Most of the communities which Negroes have invaded have been more desirable than those from which they expanded, and, in many instances, after having deteriorated these invaded communities, they have pushed on to new neighborhoods to repeat the same process. In general, it is not culturally advantageous for Negroes to move onto virgin soil. Rather, they must appropriate areas of the city which have already been developed. For when the white man abandons these communities, he leaves behind remnants of his culture—his homes, his churches, schools, parks, playgrounds, and apartment buildings.

TYPES OF OVERFLOWS

The history of the growth of the city of Washington shows that there have been repeated tendencies for certain Negro districts to overflow, due to the numerical increase of the population resulting from migration from the southern states. In 1900, according to the Federal Census, the total number of colored inhabitants of Washington was 86,702. In 1910, this number had increased to 94,446, and in 1920 it had become 109,666. For 1925, the Police census gives 126,933 as the total Negro population of the city as compared with a 345,119 white population. The inevitable consequences of this increase of



Figure I

PER CENT OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION BY CENSUS DISTRICTS: 1920¹

the number of Negro inhabitants have been community disorganization, mobility, and overflow. These overflows have been both peripheral and vicinal, depending upon the strength of the resistance from the adjacent white residential communities. Wherever the resistance has been excessively strong, the expansion has resulted in peripheral overflows—resulting in the formation of new outlying Negro communities. This is not the only cause for the formation of these new communities on the outskirts of the city, but it is one of the most important causes. Deanwood, East Deanwood, Burrville, Barry Farm, Garfield, and Good Hope are a few of these Negro communities, which are within the metropolitan area and which are largely

¹Taken from the Report of the Federal Census Bureau.

the products of the scarcity of living space within the interior districts of the city. These communities are characterized by distinctive cultural characteristics, and embrace every type of house from dilapidated shacks with high rentals to comfortable cottages and even elegant homes owned by well-to-do citizens. These communities are composed chiefly of the laboring classes. They are not the ordinary unskilled laborers—pick and shovel men—but, for the most part, people who are independent, such as skilled laborers and workers in the various departments of the government. In general, it appears that suburban Negro communities are not as significant or advantageous as are white suburban districts. It is probably more culturally advantageous for Negroes to live in the more active and highly organized areas of the city where the streams of life are welling up and surging.

The vicinal overflow occurs where these Negro communities tend to burst their boundaries and spread out upon the adjacent white areas—chiefly those disorganized by trade and other impersonal forces. This has usually been accompanied by the recession of the white population before the expanding Negro neighborhoods. Sometimes it is characterized by a continuous retreat on the part of the whites, followed by the relatively hasty occupation of their homes by Negroes. The cessation of this process and the subsequent resistance has usually been due to an unwillingness on the part of white people to release certain important social institutions, about which their sentimental life is woven—institutions which perform the function of strengthening the moral tone of the community; such as churches, schools, community centers and theatres. White people are not willing to have their religious and educational institutions remain in Negro neighborhoods, because these institutions—more than any others—are associated with the sentimental life of the people who foster them. Hence, they cannot be successfully separated from their constituents. Certain ones, however, such as ball parks, playgrounds, and so forth, have been satisfactorily maintained in Negro areas. The

presence of the American League Baseball Park in the heart of a Negro community has not provoked any noticeable opposition. This has probably been due to the desire on the part of white people to have noisy institutions far removed from their residential districts.

Certain modern developments, resulting from improved technique, have tended to lessen the opposition to Negro invasion of white communities. Improved modes of transportation, e. g., the popularization of the automobile, bus lines, and so forth, are largely responsible for the willingness on the part of many white persons to release their homes in the older sections of the city and move to the newly built homes in the newer outlying communities, where they are not seriously inconvenienced by distance from the commercial and industrial centers of the city.

In numerous areas of the city, however, one may observe the attempts of Negroes to get into these well established communities and the organized efforts of white people to keep them out. But the facts show that in the majority of such cases the Negroes finally win out—due, chiefly, to the fact that they move in so close to these antagonistic neighborhoods that the tone of the entire community is affected by their proximity. Hence, white people feel that it is to their advantage to give way to the threatening invasion. White people can move from such communities with much less injury to themselves—even though they suffer some temporary disadvantages—than Negroes can remain in the congested unwholesome environments which have been assigned to them. White people rarely suffer any cultural retardation from having to retreat before the expansion of the Negro population. They frequently suffer slight temporary economic handicaps, but Negroes would be immeasurably injured by not being able to escape from the old environments into new communities with improved facilities. They would inevitably suffer from marked cultural retardation, if this expansion process were impossible. It is to be noted that the invasions of Negroes are not the only

forces that have produced shifting of white population groupings. Trade and industrial activities have been probably even more significant forces affecting the stability of white communities, than the pressure of the Negro population. But these forces have not generated the personal resentments, flarebacks, and antagonisms that have been produced by racial invasions. This seems to have been due to the fact that trade or economic forces are largely impersonal. The population does not therefore grow bitter, or organize propaganda against the encroachment of commercial or industrial activities. These elements do not, however, depreciate property values, and this may help to explain why white people adjust themselves to the invasion of trade in the same manner in which they would adjust themselves to changes in nature. The encroachment of trade and industry, resulting in the weakening of the mores—caused by the rendering of the population heterogenous—has been a potent force in bringing about the mobility of the white population in Washington. But it has not resulted in friction, because it presents impersonal elements which are looked upon as natural developmental processes, arising for the purpose of satisfying the highest interest of the life of the community.

TYPICAL EXPANSION AREAS

The mobility of the Negro population has been chiefly in the direction of the north and west, and has usually taken place in relationship to certain radials of the city, branching out from the Negro business area. This movement has spread along U Street as far west as Nineteenth Street; along Florida Avenue from North Capitol to Nineteenth Street; along Sherman Avenue from Florida Avenue to Park Road; along Georgia Avenue as far as the twenty-nine hundred block; along Eleventh Street into the thirty-two hundred block. These are a few of the principal trade and transportational arteries along which the Negro population is moving.

Certain residential streets, such as Willard, Corcoran, Kalo-

rama Road, Seaton Place, Thomas, Quincy, Flagler, New Jersey, Randolph, R, S, W, and T, have figured largely in the recent expansions of the Negro population. One of the determining factors is that of land values.

Certain communities, such as LeDroit Park and other "sacred precincts," did not have a single colored resident thirty years ago, but they are now composed exclusively of Negroes. Some of these areas now occupied by Negroes became "colored" virtually "over night." These happenings in Washington, however, have, in nearly every instance, encountered severe opposition.

NEGRO INVASION AND RACIAL FRICTION

It has not been pleasant for Negroes to break into "new" or "white" communities. Whereas, they have not been bombed here as they have been in Chicago, Detroit, and other cities, they have often met with insults, and have been subjected to attacks at the hands of white people. Likewise, they have met with much severe criticism from the lips of a certain class of dissenting Negroes.

The bursting of the boundaries of the established Negro districts, and the subsequent overflow of the Negro population into white residential areas has caused a great deal of friction and, in some instances, almost panics and riots. The process is usually begun by individual Negroes—residential pioneers—establishing, or attempting to establish residence in the heart of an "exclusively white" neighborhood. There are usually certain white home owners in every white section of the city who do not care to retain their property at a loss when they cannot secure a good white buyer and when Negroes are willing to offer them their price. Many such home owners now live outside the city and, hence, have no interest in the efforts to keep such communities "white." In certain other instances, Negroes who can pass for white have subtly purchased homes in the midst of white neighborhoods and have moved in before

it became known that they were Negroes. Then there is the unmarried or widowed white woman who owns property in her own name and is out of sympathy with the general tendency to exclude the Negro. She, in many instances, defies the prejudice of the members of her community and sells her home to some particular colored family. Then, again, shrewd white real estate dealers have purposely sold to Negroes homes which were on "exclusive white" streets, in order to float new real estate projects. That such happenings have usually resulted in pandemonium is clearly illustrated by certain concrete cases which have developed within the last five or six years.

One of these is that of a very prominent Negro business man, who stands high, not only in his own race but in national political circles as well. He sought to purchase a new home, which had been advertised for sale, in a neighborhood that the family thought it would like. The agent who was consulted was very much impressed with the status of the buyer, and so—despite the fact that the neighborhood bore the traditional label "whites only"—the sale was completed. Within a few days, the news of this purchase had spread "like wildfire" in the neighborhood, and several of the residents immediately sought an injunction and attempted to prevent the family from moving into the house. In the meantime, this clever Negro business man and part of his family beat the two officers with the injunction to the home, carrying along enough furniture to make themselves comfortable. When the officers arrived, they were greatly disappointed at finding the newcomers peacefully enjoying the comforts of their new home. Hence, there was nothing remaining for the officers to do but to return the injunction to its source of issuance. There followed, of course, a slight fustilade of intimidating remarks and one or two "word battles," but the family completed its moving and settled down to what has since been a very peaceful life in the neighborhood.

Another one of these cases, growing out of the intense opposition of white people to having Negroes as their neighbors,

has gone down in the history of court decisions as resulting in the most damaging ruling against the freedom of Negro expansion in American cities that has ever been announced. This case—commonly known as the Curtis case—was a test case, involving the right of property owners in Washington to enforce an agreement barring Negroes from owning houses in certain residential sections. The case attracted almost nation-wide attention, because of the fact that it had finally worked its way up into the Supreme Court of the United States. The refusal of the Supreme Court to grant a review left in force an injunction, issued by the lower courts, prohibiting the sale of a residence in the seventeen hundred block on S Street, Northwest, to a woman described in the court documents as having “negro blood.” In this case, John J. Buckley brought suit against Irene Hand Corrigan to restrain her from selling her home, at 1727 S Street N. W., to Helen Curtis, a colored woman. Buckley claimed that Mrs. Corrigan had signed an agreement with him and a score of other property owners in the same block not to sell their property to Negroes. In all the lower courts the plea was a legal one and the restraining order was issued. Finally, the case was carried to the United States Supreme Court, and the fight, which had its beginning on June 1, 1921, when Mrs. Corrigan and the other twenty-nine property owners in the neighborhood signed an agreement, as alleged, “that no part of the land . . . shall ever be used or occupied or sold, conveyed leased, rented, or given to Negroes or persons of the Negro race or blood,” culminated May 24, 1926. This covenant was to run for 21 years. The District Courts consistently granted injunctions restraining Mrs. Corrigan from transferring the property to a Negro family. It finally reached the Court of Appeals, where the decision was upheld, and Mrs. Corrigan was bound to the signed agreement. Supported by Negro organizations, however, the suit was carried to the United States Supreme Court where it was argued in January, 1926. James A. Cobb, Henry E. Davis, William H. Lewis, and James P. Shick represented Mrs. Corrigan and Mrs.

Curtis while James S. Easby-Smith, David A. Pine, and Francis W. Hill, Jr., were attorneys for the property owners.

In refusing to overthrow the injunction, the Supreme Court held that none of the rights of the appellants had been violated. Among its findings, the following are cited:

Under the pleadings in the present case the only constitutional question involved was that arising under the assertions in the motions to dismiss that the indenture or covenant, which is the basis of the bill, is "void," in that it is contrary to and forbidden by the Fifth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Amendments. This contention is entirely lacking in substance or color, or merit.

The Thirteenth Amendment, denouncing slavery and involuntary servitude—that is, a condition of enforced compulsory service of one to the other—does not in other matters protect the individual rights of persons of the negro race.

While it was further urged in this Court that the decrees of the courts below in themselves deprive the defendants of their liberty and property without due process of law, in violation of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, this convention, likewise, cannot serve as a jurisdictional basis for appeal. The appeal must be and is dismissed for want of jurisdiction."¹

In 1923, a prominent Negro educator, seeing a house and lot advertised for sale near the institution at which he was employed, openly sought to purchase it. He held consultations with the agents and the owners of the home, and all the persons concerned knew quite well that he was a Negro. The sale was made in the spring of that year, but the white family that had been occupying the house was allowed to remain in it until they voluntarily moved out in the middle of August.

At first, only a part of the furniture of the new owner was moved in. In the meantime, the white people of the neighborhood broke out all the window panes and smashed the glass panel of the front door, and generally disfigured the house, both the inside and outside. The owner, in great distress, made a direct appeal to the District Commissioners, among whom

¹ *The Washington Star*, May 24, 1926. Also, *Proceedings of the U. S. Supreme Court* for 1926.

was Commissioner Oyster, and they had a guard of policemen stationed at the home, night and day, and the disturbance soon subsided. Later, the guard was removed but the opposition had not fully ceased. In November it made its reappearance in a movement which grew out of a meeting of the North Washington Citizens' Association at the United Brethern Church, 1700 North Capitol Street, Northwest. From this meeting the five hundred persons assembled marched in a body to the homes of this Negro educator and two other Negro families that had moved into the neighborhood in the meantime, and demanded that they move—in keeping with their requests, which they had made in letters sent previously. They also went to the former white owner who sold the home to a Negro and threatened to "horsewhip" him for doing so. This condition lasted for several days. The Negroes of Washington were aroused. It seemed for a time that a race riot, rivaling that of 1919,² would ensue. The lives of the inmates of the house were in danger. The mob kept growing more and more ugly in its action. Finally it advanced to the house and commanded the owner to come down to them. The owner sat in the window, placed a gun and two pistols on the sill, and ordered his wife to go through the mob and call the police. He swore that whoever of the mob touched his wife would die. The mob heard his positive statement, and allowed his wife to pass through and call the police and return. The police arrived, and, going half-heartedly to work, moved the mob back.

² The Washington Race Riot of 1919 resulted from the effects of a rather heavy influx of Negroes from the South into the National Capital during the period of the Great War. The immediate cause of the riot, however, was the sensational propaganda which was spread by a number of newspapers of the city stating that Negroes were chiefly to blame for the excessive amount of lawlessness in Washington, and that they had recently been guilty of a number of attacks on white women. As a result of these reports, a number of soldiers, sailors, and marines, on liberty in the city, were aroused and took things into their own hands and attempted to "teach the Negroes their place."

The riot ran the usual course, with white men chasing black men, and black men, as best they could, retaliating. This race war lasted for several days, and was quelled only after military forces were brought into Washington from surrounding camps.

These Negro citizens made an appeal to the District Attorney, and he informed the members of the North Washington Citizens Association that, should any more disturbances occur, they would be held responsible for them and brought to trial. Having lost out in their efforts to eject undesired persons from their community by force, these white citizens then resorted to legal strategy. The sale of property by white persons to Negroes in this neighborhood was contested in several instances, and no efforts were spared to intimidate the new Negro buyer or to discourage the white sellers.

Finally, the opposition died down; most of the white people left the community and its houses are now occupied almost entirely by Negroes.

Many of these pioneers in Negro community expansion have met the unfavorable criticism from their own people that they were striving to get beyond the members of their race, when they have invaded white neighborhoods. The facts, however, show that very few Negroes have moved into "white residential areas" for the sheer braggadocio of being "among white folks," or to form a "Strivers' Row." From all indications, it appears that they have invaded these communities because they wanted new modernly-equipped homes, and better living conditions; because white people were willing to sell or rent to them; because they had the purchase price; because there is no law to the contrary; because they are free "full-fledged" American citizens. Doubtless, there have been Negroes who were impelled by no other motives in their moving among white people than those of strong egoistic hunger for status and recognition, and a desire to escape from Negro life. But these have been few in number.

THE "COVENANT"

In Washington, the "covenant" seems to be the most widely employed method for keeping Negroes out of "exclusively white" residential districts. It consists of a written agreement signed by a small or large number of property owners, not

to sell or lease, for a certain period of time, their land for any purpose to persons of Negro blood, unless with the unanimous consent of the signers. There are now in existence in Washington two types of covenants—one containing a definite designation of persons of African descent, and the other referring to persons who are undesirable as neighbors. The following is an example of the type that makes reference to persons who have Negro blood:

AGREEMENT

This Indenture, made this 25th day of April, A. D., 1928, by and between the undersigned, all being owners of real estate situated in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, Witnesseth that:

Whereas, the said parties hereto are all owners of real estate in the District of Columbia, and located on Irving Street, both on the North side and South side of said street, said property being parts of squares 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598 and 2591, 2588, as recorded in the Surveyor's office of the District of Columbia, and

Whereas, the said parties hereto desire for their mutual benefit, as well as for the best interests of the said community and neighborhood, to improve and in any legitimate way further the interest of said community.

Now, therefore, in consideration of the premises and the sum of one dollar (\$1.00) each to the other in hand paid, the parties do hereby mutually covenant, promise, and agree each with the other and for their respective heirs and assigns that no part of the land now owned by the parties hereto, a more detailed description of said property being given after the respective signatures hereto, shall ever be used, or occupied by, or sold, conveyed, leased, rented, or given to negroes or any person or persons of the negro race or blood. This covenant shall run with the land and bind the respective heirs and assigns of the parties hereto for the period of fifty (50) years from and after the date of these presents; provided, however, that if this indenture be not executed by the owner or owners and this indenture be hereafter, by the owner or owners thereof sold, conveyed, leased, rented, given to or allowed to be used or occupied by a negro or negroes, or any person of the negro race or blood, by or under a power or authority of a prior or superior right, title or encumbrance, then, or in either of said events, the undersigned and their several successors in ownership and their several properties now owned by them shall not thereafter be bound by this indenture.

The owner of any lot or parcel of land within the limits above de-

scribed may become a party to this covenant at any time by executing and recording an instrument showing his intention to be bound thereby, this covenant thereupon to apply to such lot or parcel with like effect as if such owner had executed this instrument."³

Signatures of owners :

It is interesting to note that the covenant has usually defeated its own purpose, and has worked a hardship upon the covenanters themselves, or upon their heirs. For it has seldom been possible to secure the signatures of more than one half of the property owners—even in a single social block.⁴ The result of this lack of unanimity has been that Negroes usually establish residence in such neighborhoods by purchasing those homes which have not been covenanted, and, having once got into the social block, it becomes impossible to secure white purchasers for the homes on which there are covenants and which cannot be sold to Negroes before the expiration of a specified period of time. Hence, in many communities and on numerous streets there are evidences of the painful consequences of this ineffective legal procedure—white people unwillingly living side-by-side with colored people, because members of their own group refuse to buy the homes which they are not allowed to sell to Negroes.

The covenant works its greatest hardship upon the heirs of the covenanters, since the number of years of its continuance is usually from twenty-five to fifty. With the rapid growth of the city and the radical changes which this development is likely to cause, white people may find it advantageous to sell to Negroes within less than five years from the time that the covenant was made. It is hardly conceivable that sensible people would want to bind their unborn children to a contract which is a legal expression of their own current or traditional attitudes, which represents their responses to an immediate situation, and so encumber them that they cannot sell the prop-

³ Records of the Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia.

⁴ "Social Block" refers to the two sides of a street, extending from one cross street to another.

erty which they inherit to any person of Negro descent—even though the block has become a Negro community.

The covenant has, however, had the effect of temporarily checking and delaying Negro invasions of certain white communities. But, even where this has been the case, Negroes usually take possession of those blocks which border closely on covenanted streets and cause the white people a great deal of discomfort. Such neighborhoods soon become areas of transition, disorganization, and “acculturation.”⁵

The process of an exclusive white social block passing over into the hands of Negroes is a very speedy one, since it occurs, chiefly, upon the basis of such socio-psychic factors as fears, biases, sentiments, myths, etc. The process begins usually with a Negro family moving into a house in “the very middle” of the block. The natural sequence is general alarm and the immediate appearance of signs “For Sale” on the adjoining houses on both sides. And in a very short time Negroes become the immediate neighbors of the original “invader.” The same process is repeated on both sides of these two purchasers, and, with the rapid multiplication of the “For Sale” notices, it is only a matter of a few months before one may see scores of colored children roller skating on the sidewalks or playing contentedly on the lawns, symbolizing the fact that the area which once belonged exclusively to white people has become a Negro neighborhood.

For some time, colored people had been living on Kenyon Street as far west as Eleventh Street. But, in 1927, a white family sold its home at 1223 to a colored family and, by so doing, released a volume of antagonism against Negro invaders. For a short period, housewives were busied with keeping a constant “lookout” for the appearance of real estate agents with prospective Negro buyers and reporting the fact to their neighbors. It was obvious that for a brief period, at least, feeling of resentment was running high and the resistance was

⁵ “Acculturation” is the process of interpenetration and fusion of ideas and habits in those sections of the city where residential communities border on trade areas, or where there is interracial residential contact.

strong. The final outcome was, however, the usual conspicuous sale notices, and, now, Negroes are rapidly appropriating the block between Eleventh and Thirteenth Streets.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF WHITE PEOPLE

The movement of white persons from residential neighborhoods which are being invaded by Negroes is not entirely a moral question—as many people are inclined to believe. They are the victims of forces over which they have little or no control.

The basis of many of the objections to living with Negroes lies so deeply embedded in the realms of social psychology and human nature that few of the persons who were consulted could formulate any clear and lucid statements of their attitudes and feelings regarding Negroes coming into their neighborhoods. The replies to the inquiries varied from strong, terse, and vituperative language, which carried very little meaning, to veritable “systems of philosophy.” Some could say no more than that it “isn’t right for colored people and white people to live side by side.” Others stated that the question was one which was above all argumentation—a matter of life rather than of speculation. A systematic summary of these verbal attitudes, which may not have been in all cases genuine, established certain generalizations. Some of the forces which compel them to escape from such neighborhoods—as reflected in a study of the attitudes of two hundred white families—are as follows:

First, the fear of public opinion and the attitudes of the other members of white society. This was found to be the chief factor appearing in a greater or lesser degree in every case. The statement of one white woman is significant: “Who wants his friends to drive by and see him sitting on the front porch with Negroes on the porch next door? Not me!” Another housewife stated that when some of their friends from another part of the city visited them and found them living among

"Negroes," they not only would not return to see them again, but refused to speak to them any more.

Most people are afraid of public opinion, and white people, of course, are no exception. The fear of these human attitudes causes many white people to conclude that, if living among Negroes is going to affect their standing in white society, they will, under no circumstances, remain in communities and neighborhoods with them. This position, of course, tends to embitter the Negro, because he recognizes in it a symbol of the belief on the part of the white man in his inferiority.

Second, contrary to traditional and religious conceptions, it is not characteristic of human nature for groups that are not like-minded to associate on a permanent basis of intimacy and equality. People who have different physical characteristics are not inclined to have identical social experiences. On account of the subtle forms of isolation between Negroes and white people, they are never really and fully like-minded. And it is this absence of similar mental attitudes and interests which prevents the two races from synchronizing.

A third factor, closely related to that of like-mindedness, is what sociologists refer to as "consciousness of kind," which means the awareness of one's identification with a particular race or nationality. Individuals of diverse races may have common interests and a degree of like-mindedness, but yet be unable to escape entirely the consciousness of the fact that they are not of the same kind. Even Negroes who have no feelings of loyalty to their own race, but who think and react emotionally like white people, are unable to escape the awareness of the fact that biologically, at least, they are not whites, but Negroes.

It is characteristic of human nature for one to feel more satisfied and contented among one's own people than among persons of different racial and cultural backgrounds. It is easier for white people to live in neighborhoods with members of their own race than with Negroes, because they can carry on freer association. The clash of interests is not so pronounced, and the feeling of solidarity can be more easily achieved when

the inhabitants of a neighborhood or community are racially homogenous. This calls for some discussion of what is involved in the term *neighbor*, when it is subjected to a social psychological analysis. *Neighbor* is a term which involves more than physical proximity. The person who lives near or next door to us lays claim to our friendship and association. One is brought under the obligation to speak to him or to render him assistance in case of need. For this reason, one is desirous of having as his neighbors persons with whom one would be willing to associate, because they are of the same kind as oneself—both as to racial and psychological characteristics.

A fourth factor which was found to figure largely in the objections of white people to Negro neighbors is the difference in the cultural backgrounds of the two races. We are often misled into the belief that culturally the Negro in America is in no sense different from the white man. It is true that the Negro speaks the same language and reads some of the same literature, but, because of subtle forms of isolation and other factors, he cannot fully participate in the white man's culture. Hence, his universe of interests and experience is not the same. In so many phases of their life, Negroes associate only with Negroes, and white people with white people. So they naturally think and talk about different things. These differences in the social heritages and habits of the two races act as obstacles to their becoming one hundred per cent neighbors.

A fifth controlling factor in such situations seems to be the rather general belief among white people that Negroes are highly gregarious, with inclinations to have too many people around their homes—with a special tendency to congregate on the front porches. This tendency was generally referred to as looking "bad for the community."

A sixth factor, the "power of tradition," was also found to be a very strong force. Its decree that it is not proper for Negroes and white people to live on a basis of equality in the same communities has conditioned the existing public opinion of white people regarding the Negro as a neighbor.

A seventh factor is the genuine fear of some whites that social intimacies, encouraged by residential association, may lead ultimately to a further breakdown of racial integrity and to intermarriage.

The factors mentioned above constitute the broad headings under which the detailed objections to Negro invasions of white residential areas—based on a canvass of two hundred homes—tend to fall.

The following table presents a more detailed statistical summary:

TABLE IV
Summary of Attitudes of Whites

Attitudes	No. of Cases	Attitudes	No. of Cases
Fear of public opinion.	180	Negroes too gregarious	96
Negroes' social habits objectionable.....	70	Negroes inferior.....	30
Feel shut in.....	3	Too wide cultural differences.....	10
Morally wrong.....	1	Desire for security....	5
Negroes lower tone of community.....	110	Fear of white daughters falling in love with Negroes.....	2
Feel ashamed.....	2	Fear of being robbed	1
Just traditional.....	16	Fear of growing to like Negroes.....	23
Negroes not good-looking.....	1	Divine decree that they should stay apart.....	1
Feel uncomfortable....	20	Do not care to associate with Negroes..	10
No objections, intend to remain.....	3		

In many neighborhoods which have "gone colored" a few white people continue to reside. This is not, however, to be used as an argument that white people in general will eventually

come to the place where they will live contentedly among Negroes. The following types of white persons were found living in Negro neighborhoods:

First, the isolated white family, usually without children, and generally old people who are not particularly sensitive to public opinion, and who prefer to live to themselves, away from the society of other white persons.

Second, white persons who continue to live in Negro communities because they are not financially able to move out. Hence, they either spend their remaining days in bitterness or become reconciled to their surroundings.

Third, foreigners, who, having no status among native white Americans, are likewise excluded from characteristic native white communities, and seek refuge among other peoples who are also victims of the white man's prejudice.

Fourth, persons with anti-social motives—gamblers, operators of houses of assignation, criminals, and other persons who desire shelter and protection.

Fifth, persons who have signed covenants and are legally restrained from selling their homes to Negroes—homes among those of Negroes which no other white persons will purchase.

HARDSHIPS WHICH NEGRO INVASIONS WORK UPON WHITE PROPERTY OWNERS

The damaging effects which white property owners experience by the continuous redistribution of the Negro population throughout the city were also carefully considered in this survey. Some of these hardships appear as causative factors in the objections to Negroes as neighbors.

The popular complaint that Negroes "depreciate property values" was found to be largely illusionary. It is true that they depreciate the value of property in so far as future white buyers are concerned. But the records of real estate agents, as well as their personal observations, establish the fact that depreciation does not accrue to the original owners, because

colored people usually pay more for these homes, when they take over white neighborhoods, than white people would pay for them under normal conditions. Homes which previously sold to white people for \$9,000 sell later to Negroes for \$10,500. The depreciation of property occurs only after the community or social block has passed into the hands of Negroes, and the original Negro purchasers are the ones who sustain the losses—not the original white owners.

Some hardships were discovered, however, which were of a much less mythical character than that of property depreciation. Chief among these may be mentioned those which are encumbent upon the disruption of the established bonds of sentimental attachments to these houses and neighborhoods. Many complaints were registered against having to sever connections with the spots where their children were born and reared—where many objects stand as monuments to some past emotional experience; objects which, with time, have taken on almost the significance of a fetish.

It was also found that along with these factors go other difficulties, arising from the disruption of the established order of living conditions. There is the loss of the feeling of security, which, psychologically speaking, is a very serious hardship. Finally, there are the difficulties of finding a new home and the uncertainty of being able to make satisfactory accommodations in the new communities.

However, these disadvantages and hardships, which white people experience when Negroes begin to appropriate their homes, diminish in significance when they are compared with the social evils that interfere with the welfare and progress of Negroes when they must remain within circumscribed and traditionally designated sections of the city, while their population is increasing by leaps and bounds. It is incomparably easier for white people to abandon certain neighborhoods to Negroes than it is for Negroes to remain within small congested areas.

The fact that white people rarely suffer any cultural retarda-

tion from receding before a Negro invasion has already been mentioned. In instances where such has occurred, it has been only slight and temporary. But the Negro suffers immeasurable injury by not being able to escape from the old environment into new communities with improved living conditions and cultural surroundings. In fact, the Negro population would experience marked cultural retardation if this expansion process were impossible.

The Real Estate Board, cognizant of the difficulties arising from interracial residential contacts, resulting from the metabolism of the city, is attempting to deal with these problems in a tactful manner.

INTERRACIAL RESIDENTIAL CONTACTS

Many Negroes and white people were found living not only side by side in separate houses on the same streets, but occupying together—in certain instances—duplex or two-family houses. The following are only a few of the streets and blocks which white and colored people share together: Twenty-fifth Street between K and L, Virginia Avenue between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Streets, Twenty-second Street between H and I, Thirty-third Street between P and Volta Place, Prospect between Wisconsin and Thirty-third, Twenty-sixth Street between I and K, Adams Street between First and Second, Euclid Street between Georgia Avenue and Sherman Avenue, Eleventh Street between Euclid and Fairmont. There are numerous other interracial residential blocks in the city, which constitute areas of acculturation and intensified racial feeling. The characteristic form of arrangement on these streets is that of Negroes occupying one side of the block and white people the other; though, in numerous instances, they are irregularly intermingled on both sides of the street.

One interesting ecological factor which arrested the attention of the writer was the prevalence of the instances—where typical Negro streets form a T-shaped arrangement with

typical white streets—of white persons who contentedly occupy the corner houses, providing they face on the street occupied by white people. Those that face on the street occupied by Negroes are tabooed. Fairmont, Columbia Road, Euclid, Harvard, and other streets that form right angles with the solid Negro blocks on Eleventh Street have their corner houses, which do not face on Eleventh Street, occupied by white people, and those that do have their entrances on this thoroughfare have Negro occupants.

PROBLEM CAUSED BY THE GROWTH OF THE CITY

Since the Great War, there has been a tremendous increase in the population of Washington, and much of the downtown area, which was once residential, has now become an area of business establishments, rooming houses, and transient hotels. Most of the changes which have taken place in the anatomy of the city have been the sequence of intensified forms of competition growing out of specialization and complex economic organization. The processes of segregation and social differentiation tend to give distinctive characterization to the areas of the city.

Even though Washington has no political areas—such as wards—it does have, in addition to the cultural and economic areas, such administrative areas as health districts and the geographical units of social agencies. The analysis of the problem of Negro habitats in Washington involves thorough recognition of the many areas of the city to which the Negro population bears a relation—industrial areas, rooming house districts, foreign communities, and residential neighborhoods—all of which tend to have certain distinctive cultural characteristics. Housing problems vary in degree of gravity and complexity in accordance with the areas of the city which Negroes inhabit. No general description of these conditions and characteristics is an adequate expression of every district of Washington. It is most essential that the cultural and

economic differences in the various localities and areas of the city should be taken into account, because these differences find expression not only in the formal but in the informal life of the communities and reflect themselves in the activities and interests of their inhabitants. Hence, housing standards and conditions vary from community to community.

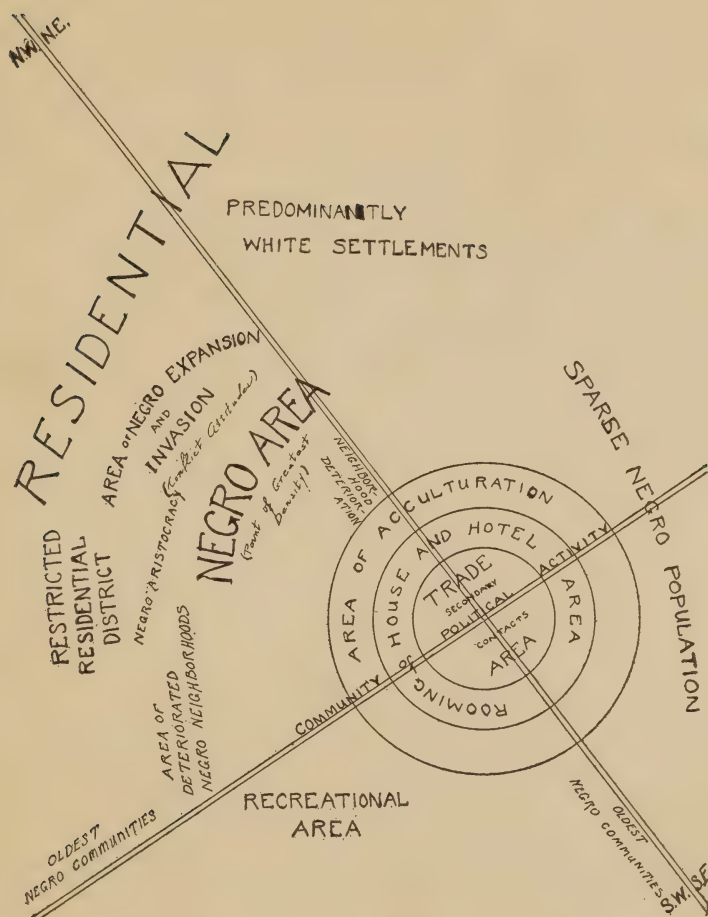


CHART I.—The General Ecological Organization of the City of Washington.

CHAPTER III

THE NEGRO COMMUNITY; ITS STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL ASPECTS

The Negro community is one of the most fundamental "natural areas" in the city, because it is the result of social attitudes which are generated by racial differentiation. The Negro communities in Washington—as is true of communities everywhere—had their inception in the traits of human nature. Social attitudes and affinities, and the processes of competition, conflict, segregation, etc., have conditioned the mobility and metabolism, organization and disorganization, allocation and distribution of both the Negro and white populations of the city. These communities are not merely localized groups with definite geographical boundaries; they are bodies of integrated interests and sentiments. A community has personality—determined by the status of the people who compose it. Hence, some communities have more personality than others, and, as a consequence, there is ceaseless endeavor to pass from communities of inferior to those of superior personality. The social *milieus* which people create are indexes of their lives. The music, conversation, and general public decorum, which constitute the tone of a community, differ widely with different localities.

NEGROES AND THE TRADE AREAS

For the most part, the larger number of Negro communities in Washington are associated rather closely with the commercial and other activities of the city, which tend to disorganize residential communities. They are not, however, located in those areas where land values are extremely high. The only areas which Negroes can enter with facility are those of transition. The study of certain important Negro communities reveals clearly how Negroes have followed closely the lines of trade and light industry.

It is of interest to note that it is not always disadvantageous for Negroes to live in proximity to commercial and business areas. In a certain sense, there is a cultural advantage which accrues to the members of such communities. They are in the midst of the streams of stimulation and social change, and the mentality—social intelligence—of a culturally retarded group is enhanced by such an environment. It has not always proved valuable for the masses of Negroes to get too far away from the points of commercial vibration. The Negroes who live in the busy sections of the city see more, hear more, and probably think more than do those who are isolated in remote sections of the city or in the suburbs. Suburban life does not have the same significance for Negroes that it does for white people, because the suburban Negro becomes virtually rural in attitudes and habits, because of the greater amount of isolation. Whereas, the trade and business areas furnish more social contact, and, hence, foster a superior form of civilization.

These Negro communities are not—at least in the psychological sense—completely isolated, for they are bound together by a network of common interests with all the other communities of the city. Most of the Negro residential units are self-conscious communities, having their psycho-social elements determined by their interaction with the life of white areas. Many of these Negro neighborhoods are intimately associated with certain elements of the foreign population. Jews, Italians, Greeks, and Chinese are frequently found either on the borderlines of colored districts or actually incorporated in them, as integral parts of their internal life. This is more true of the Negro communities which are situated close to the business sections of the city than it is of those located in the strictly residential districts. These geographical points of association between the races may be referred to as “areas of acculturation.” They are characterized by conflict and accommodation, the breakdown of customary and traditional modes of informal control, mobility, and re-integration.

THE ORGANIZATION AND DISORGANIZATION OF NEGRO
COMMUNITIES

Each distinctly Negro area was found to be undergoing either a process of organization and anabolism or disintegration and decay. Among those communities which are experiencing increasing organization and solidarity, LeDroit Park, the neighborhoods around Seventeenth and S Streets, and between Georgia Avenue and Eleventh Street are typical examples. There are, however, numerous small communities that are now passing through a very definite process of deterioration. This process is going on in several of the older communities. But the typical neighborhoods of this type are found in Southwest Washington, Georgetown, and near certain first and second commercial zones throughout the city. These are neighborhoods which have experienced serious breakdowns in their customary modes of control. Their institutions have become weakened and self-centered, and lack the power to deal vigorously with community problems. Attention to petty affairs of private life has taken the place of a vital interest in home building and in matters of general concern to the community. Here, instead of community consciousness, one finds struggles between contending factions, intense personal jealousies, and general disunity—all of which give free play to the forces of deterioration in the life of these communities. The people who live on trade streets are far more Bohemian than those who live on the strictly residential streets. This is due, chiefly, to the fact that the mores are continually in a state of flux as a result of the unstable character of the population.

The spot maps establish certain close correlations between these disorganized areas and personal demoralization. They show, especially, correlations between neighborhood life and crime, delinquency, illegitimacy, and sickness. These concrete instances establish the fact that there is a causal relation between community disorganization and personal demoralization.

One interesting fact, which this survey brought to light, is

that the short streets which are inhabited by Negroes usually deteriorate—at least in external appearance—much more rapidly than do the long streets. Negroes who are particularly concerned about their social positions in the city tend to avoid the short streets as residential habitats, because they are not sufficiently well known to give the desired dignity and status, and because of fear—on account of the small amount of traffic—of being unnoticed. The facts seem to show that the main incentive to the upkeep and improvement of homes is the desire for approbation and approval from the public. The short street does not give as great an incentive to display as does the well-known long street, the homes of which are more before the eyes of the public. A number of persons stated that they would not live on short streets, either because they have to be apologized for, or are likely to be confused—in the minds of persons who are not acquainted with the city—with the alleys.

These attitudes simply confirm the statement that streets and social blocks have personality and reflect the economic and social standing of their residents.

In numerous instances, however, these short streets are occupied by serious-minded, progressive citizens—persons who are not greatly obsessed with the “climbing” impulse, but who prefer a quiet and more inconspicuous mode of living.

THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AS A NATURAL AREA

It has been previously stated that the ecological organization of the city of Washington is the product of the competitive process, and human attitudes and wishes. Human nature being what it is, and racial feelings being realities, the formation of more or less distinct Negro and white communities is inevitable. These segregated districts constitute the *milieus* in which individuals have their personalities developed and in which they experience the fulfillment of their desires.

Aside from the handicaps which these segregated districts have placed upon their inhabitants—such as isolation and some

forms of cultural retardation—they have exercised certain beneficial influences upon the Negro group by furnishing a definite corporate life. Such integrations of Negro interests and activities project social situations, which afford certain protective, economic, and social advantages. Since racial feelings exist and conflict, or at least friction, is imminent, it is necessary that the individual members of the various racial elements of the city be incorporated in their own groups for purposes of protection. The significance of community solidarity became evident during the Race Riot of 1919. Individual Negro families, which were scattered among white people, have described to the author their feelings of insecurity in these white communities during this perilous outbreak.

This investigation has revealed the fact that, even aside from the moments of conflict, there are very few cases of scattered Negro families that are fully incorporated in white communities and are capable of genuine participation in the life which they afford.

In addition to the above mentioned benefits, and the numerous economic advantages which accrue to Negroes who participate in the life of the Negro communities, there are the desirable effects of these communities upon the personalities of the individuals who constitute them. The status of the individual Negro in Washington is generally determined by his activities in one or more Negro residential localities.

By allowing the individual full participation in their life, these communities perform the highly valuable service of socializing him and training him in coöperation.

Hence, these communities are the natural habitats of Washington's Negro population. They have not come into existence so much as the result of legal segregation, but as the effects of the processes of social selection, mobility, and differentiation; which develop from the fundamental attitudes and interests of people who make up the population of the city.

CHAPTER IV

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY NEGROES

In general, there are two types of houses in which Negro families in Washington live. First, those that are built originally for white people and have been taken over by colored renters or buyers. Second, houses built especially for Negro occupancy. The first type of house is in nearly every instance superior in quality to the latter, and is generally preferred by Negroes who desire durable homes. This preference, however, has resulted in the renting and selling of these homes by real estate companies at excessive prices.

Many of the large construction companies in the city—such as the Kite Realty Company, Cafritz Company, B. F. Saul Company, Wardman Company, and Grady & Company—have taken advantage of the tendency of the Negro population to concentrate in Northwest Washington, and are rapidly developing “business quarters” and new homes and communities for Negroes. Within a period of twelve years, the Kite Realty Company has built approximately four hundred houses and two or three apartments for colored people. The Wardman Company is now renting approximately five hundred houses to colored families. Feeling the lure of these new modern homes, Negroes are renting and purchasing them as fast as they are completed.

These new houses, when first erected, display a rather attractive appearance, because of their extreme modernity and their improvement in facilities over the old houses, equipped with oil lamps and built-in stoves, known as “latrobes.” However, certain strong objections have been made to these new structures, and severe criticisms have been launched against the building programs. It would appear, however, that the building of good new blocks for Negroes should be encouraged, for, in

general, the contrast is between the shoddy, post-war houses and the better-built older houses. This seems to be shown by the fact that the same complaint against new houses is made by white home owners. The slightest comparison shows that these new houses, which are being so rapidly constructed for Negroes, are of material much inferior to those which can be purchased from white owners at similar prices. Most of them contain an inferior grade of brick, cheap fixtures and floorings, and ceilings and walls that crack within a few months after the houses are completed. It also seems to be a practice among construction companies to use very cheap labor. For these reasons, many of the loan companies—according to information given the writer—are hesitant about making loans to builders who erect homes for Negroes. It is reported that the National Real Estate Board is considering the feasibility of requiring these companies to label the houses which they construct—example, A, B, C, and so forth—in keeping with the grade of material used and the quality of workmanship.

In addition to the matter of cheap materials, there is the question of exploitation. In practically every instance, the new homes that are built for Negroes sell for prices that vary from one to two thousand dollars more than similar homes built for white people. A comparison of the purchase prices of similar types of houses purchased by Negroes and white people established the fact that there is a very noticeable difference in the costs of these homes along the lines of race. It also substantiated the charge of unnecessary exploitation of Negroes. The following table is a summary of a comparative study of the purchase prices of practically identical houses sold to Negroes and white people:

TABLE V

Comparison of the Purchase Prices of Similar Negro and White Homes

Size of House	Price Paid by Negroes	Price Paid by Whites	No. of Houses Compared
Six Rooms.....	\$7,250	\$6,500	15
Six Rooms.....	8,250	7,500	12
Five Rooms.....	5,650	5,500	8
Eight Rooms.....	12,500	10,500	20
Seven Rooms.....	9,500	9,000	10
Six Rooms.....	7,500	7,000	15

Building programs for Negroes are becoming extremely popular, for the reason that they are profitable commercial enterprises. The real estate companies confess that they usually charge Negroes more for these homes than they do white people, not because they realize that Negroes are compelled to find new homes—on account of the housing shortage—but solely because the financial risks are much greater in the case of Negroes; in other words, because Negroes are not as likely to be able to keep up their payments. The writer, however, subjected these theories to a critical investigation, and secured statements from experienced and impartial real estate dealers to the effect that the facts show that, above a certain cultural and economic level, the risks are not as great in the case of Negroes as they are in the case of white people. Below this average standard of culture, the risks were very great in the case of both races—but somewhat greater in the case of Negroes.

In view of the fact that these homes are built solely for responsible colored families, as alleged by the realty companies themselves, and indicated by the prevalent sign, "New Modern Homes for Progressive Colored Citizens"—families that are more prompt in meeting their financial obligations than white people of a similar cultural level—the theory of "greater risks"

becomes untenable, and must be regarded as merely the survival of a tradition once true to fact, but now entirely outworn. White retail grocers and shopkeepers state that the upper classes of Negroes are better buyers and much more responsible and reliable customers than are white people of similar economic and social status.

FACTORS WHICH DETERMINE THE APPOINTMENT OF HOMES

The houses which Negroes occupy in Washington vary in quality and structure from the well-appointed, almost palatial residence of twenty or more rooms, equipped with all the modern facilities—even to the extent of outside servant's quarters—to the one-room shack without flooring and plastering.

Nothing so clearly indicates the wide class stratification among Negroes, resulting from economic achievement, as these marked differences in the homes which they occupy. It is not unusual to encounter cases of Negro families which have purchased their homes on a cash basis of from \$10,000 to \$25,000, and repaired and furnished them at a cost of several thousand dollars. There are doubtless as many Negroes living in well-appointed homes, enjoying comfort, in Washington, as in any other urban center in the United States—Chicago and New York not excluded. There is, however, no strict cultural determination of the well-appointed home. It is not determined entirely by the economic and social status of the family, for it was found that frequently the best furnished homes were those of persons employed in domestic service—maids, porters, chauffeurs, or Pullman porters and dining car employees. The largeness or smallness of the family's income does not necessarily condition the nature of the appointments of the home. There are other factors besides that of economic status—cultural factors—that determine the type of the home. Brick masons were found to have larger family incomes than government workers, yet, in the majority of instances, their homes were

found to be inferior in appointment to those of the latter group of wage earners.

Chauffeurs and house servants—though unable to boast of the kind of culture that is found in the schools—frequently enjoy more genuinely cultural contacts than persons of higher social status. Their contacts are with the atmosphere of cultured white homes, and they quickly imitate and assimilate the models and forms of life which they encounter.

DESCRIPTIONS OF NEGRO HOMES

A. External Characteristics

*Grading of Neighborhood Conditions.*¹—The external characteristics of Negro homes are reflected not only in the houses, but also in the general tone of the social block and neighborhood. The following descriptive statements represent only a few of the remarks taken from more than 240 block schedules, and suggest the great variety of neighborhood conditions:

<i>Block</i>	<i>Description</i>
Quincy Place, between Q and R Streets	General appearance very good; 7 houses in block; beautiful shade trees; school on north side of street.
First Street, between O and P Streets	General appearance poor; houses are all old and not kept up; little uniformity; five or six houses are in good condition.
W Street, between Florida Avenue and Tenth Street	Poor appearance; houses in poor condition; tone low.
Eleventh Street, 2800 block	Houses of uniform appearance; general tone good; public school on west side of street.
Franklin Street, between New Jersey Avenue and Fifth Street	General appearance terrible.
New Jersey Avenue, 1700 block	Tone good; uniform general appearance; 34 houses, well kept; beautiful lawns and shade trees.
Corcoran Street, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth Streets	Some very old and unsightly houses in this block. At the entrance from Sixteenth Street are garages.
Sherman Avenue, between Irving and Kenyon	General appearance fair; the houses, with the exception of a few, are in good condition.

¹ Patterned, somewhat, after the *Whittier Scale for Grading Neighborhood Conditions*, Bulletin No. 5, Department of Research—Whittier State School.

<i>Block</i>	<i>Description</i>
Third Street, between O and P Streets	Twenty-eight houses, most of which are frame, showing evidence of need of repairs. The economic status of the inhabitants is somewhat low.
N Street, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets	Forty-one houses; good appearance; diversified types of houses; some appear to be well-kept; others do not.
Hobart Street, 700 block	Fifty-four houses; young shade trees; flower pots on several stoops; unsightly clay hill on north side.
P Street, 500 block	Uniformity, cleanliness, and attractiveness.
C Street Southwest, between First and Second Streets	Extremely poor houses; some should be repaired; others should be torn down; general tone very poor.
T Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets	All houses on south side of street have large front yards; some on the north side have no porches; most of the yards have large trees; general tone of the community is good; many of the homes are old, but they still have good material.
P Street, between North Capitol and First Streets	Seems to be a solid colored block; much evidence of deterioration.
Randolph Street, between S and Florida Avenue	This section is being invaded by Negroes, but there is no difference in the appearance of the houses of the Negroes and those of the white residents.
U Streets, between Fourth and Fifth	Very commendable appearance; large, well-kept lawns. Those homes have not long been abandoned by middle class white people; an "aristocratic section."
Q Street, between First and North Capitol	General appearance good. Both white and colored people occupy the block. There is a very beautiful church in the block—for white people.
Seaton Street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth	General appearance poor; conditions very unfavorable.
Fifth Street, between N and M Streets	General appearance fair; there is evidence that people of very moderate means occupy this neighborhood.

Six-and-a-Half Street, between M and N—General appearance extremely deplorable. General tone of the neighborhood worse than poor.

Third Street, between U and V—Between U and Elm, the houses and yards are well appointed; lawns and shrubbery; but between Elm and Oakdale there are no yards, no car line, and unpaved alleys, a vacant house and a rather low general tone.

S Street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets—A first-class neighborhood, excellent homes and lawns. Persons of the upper economic strata occupy this block. Some white people also live here.

Randolph Street, between S and Florida Avenue—General appearance very good. Almost the entire block has now passed into the hands of colored people. This block represents the Negro favorably.

Third Street, between Florida Avenue and T Street—There is a circle at the end of the 1800 block of this street around which there are two extra gas lights. The conditions of the lawns are indicative of the fact that persons with pride and aesthetic taste inhabit this community.

The following tables give quantitative descriptions of the characteristics of 238 social blocks which were carefully studied:

TABLE VI

Descriptions of Social Blocks Occupied by Negroes

A <i>General Appearance</i>		B <i>Distance from Car Line</i>	
Good	104	On car line.....	66
Fair	96	One-half block	21
Poor	32	One block	93
Very poor	6	Two blocks	45
		Three blocks	10
		Four blocks	2
		Five blocks	1
		Six blocks	0
Total		Total	238

C

Descriptions of Streets

Material of Street

Asphalt	223
Stone	6
Brick	4
Earth	2
No report	3
Total	238

Repairs

Needed	46
Not needed	192
Total	238

D

Descriptions of Sidewalks

Material

Cement	129
Brick	74
Brick and cement.....	33
Earth and brick.....	2
Total	238

Repairs

Needed	33
Not needed	205
Total	238

F

Number of Lights in Block

<i>No. of Lights</i>	<i>No. of Blocks</i>
One	36
Two	50
Three	92
Four	34
Five	6
Six	7
Seven	1
Eight	4
Nine	2

Ten	1
Eleven	0
Twelve	1
No report	4
Total	238

G

Description of Traffic Alleys

Paved	205
Unpaved	33
Total	238

The number of houses per social block was found to range

from two to eighty-nine, but the average block has from sixteen to twenty houses.

Yards, fences, and general upkeep.—The presence or absence of these factors, or their condition, bear a direct relationship to the question of the attractiveness or desirability of the home. The facts revealed by a study of 5,000 schedules showed 771 homes, occupied by Negroes, that had neither front nor back yards; 305 had back yards, but no front yards; 1,429 had front yards; 2,270 had back yards, but 115 did not; 1,470 had both front and back yards. There were 2,465 houses, the yards of which were beautified by flowers and shrubbery, but there were 1,999 that did not have these attractions.

The following table presents data on the materials of these yards:

TABLE VII

Materials of Yards

<i>Kind of Material</i>	<i>Number of Yards</i>
Sod	4,031
Cement	99
Gravel	216
Sod and gravel.....	22
Sod and brick.....	13
Sod and cement.....	69
Brick	63
Ashes	1
Cement and gravel.....	1
Brick and gravel.....	3
No report.....	102
Total	4,620

Most of the yards are surrounded by fences, especially the back yards. The prevalent bordering for front yards is the stone or brick wall. The following summary for fences is here given:

TABLE VIII

Materials of Fences

<i>Kind of Material</i>	<i>Number of Fences</i>
Wood	3,605
Brick	4
Wire	324
Wood and iron.....	86
Wood and wire.....	62
Wood, wire and brick.....	1
Wood and brick.....	1
Metal	1
Stone	3
No fences.....	75
No report for fences.....	193
Total	4,555

The following table relates to buildings on the yards:

TABLE IX

Buildings on the Yards of Negro Homes

Having buildings.....	1,330
Having no buildings.....	872
Having garages.....	672
Garages and sheds.....	36
Sheds	1,101
No report for buildings.....	392
Total	4,423

Row, semi-detached, and detached houses.—Nearly all of the newer houses that are being built for Negroes by construction companies are row and semi-detached homes. For the most part, those houses which are detached have been purchased from white people, and are, therefore, old houses.

Out of a total of 5,409 houses, 3,346 were found to be row, 1,279 semi-detached, and only 245 detached. There were 539 cases where no report on this item was made. These figures show that 61.8 per cent of the homes occupied by Negroes are row, 4.5 per cent are detached, and 23 per cent are semi-

detached. These facts are significant, because they indicate the closeness of contact of Negro families, and the compact nature of Negro community life.

A prominent Negro real estate dealer reports, however, that a project is now being launched, with the aim of building a Negro community on the outskirts of the city, composed of well-appointed detached homes.

Kinds of material used.—The material out of which the largest number of houses are built is brick. Out of 5,390 houses, 4,304, or 71 per cent, were found to be brick structures; 947, or 17 per cent, frame; 22 houses, concrete or stucco; and 22 houses, stone. There were 94 cases in which there were no reports as to the kind of material out of which the houses were built.

Many of the neighborhoods of the city are without artistic attraction, because the homes are characterized by drab uniformity, and, hence, externally, at least, fail to disclose any differentiation in the economic and cultural status of the various families. On many streets, the only noticeable external index of the standing of the family is the manner in which the yard is kept.

Disposal of garbage and rubbish.—Since the manner in which refuse is disposed of by the individual family bears a close relation to the question of public health, careful attention was given to collecting data about the number of homes that had closed garbage cans and trash receptacles. A study of the reports on 4,438 homes showed that 4,194 were equipped with closed garbage cans. Of the same number, only 4,009 had trash receptacles.

Ventilation of houses.—Special attention was given in this survey to the physical elements of the home that bear a direct relationship to the health of the members of the family. Hence, careful consideration was given to the matter of ventilation.

The following table shows the scale of windows for 4,571 homes:

TABLE X
Ventilation of Homes

No. of Windows	No. of Houses	No. of Windows	No. of Houses	No. of Windows	No. of Houses
1	10	14	278	27	29
2	17	15	306	28	11
3	30	16	165	29	12
4	34	17	170	30	8
5	214	18	181	31	12
6	366	19	57	32	15
7	549	20	88	33	3
8	361	21	30	34	1
9	266	22	61	35	6
10	414	23	32	36	8
11	257	24	33	37	3
12	315	25	19	38	2
13	166	26	29	39	1
				40	2

Fourteen of these houses have no windows in the dining rooms; 1,894 have only one; 1,370, two; and 317, three.

The most frequent number of windows in the bed rooms was found to be three. There were nine houses which had no bedroom windows.

Plumbing and sanitation.—Of a total of 6,305 houses, 5,209, or 82.7 per cent, were reported as having bathrooms; 5,071 had one bathroom; 110, two; 27, three; 1, six; 1,096, none. Sixty-two of these homes had bath rooms but no bath tubs.

Twenty-three houses had no toilets; 5,141 had one; 541 had two; 29 had three, and 1 had six. Of the total number of toilets, 311 were located in the basement; 14, on the back porch; 1,791, in the back yard; 2, in the kitchen, and 3,488, on the second or third floors.

A large number of the bathrooms are not equipped with

wash bowls, but several were found to have more than one. Of a total of 4,581 homes, 3,049 were reported as being equipped with wash bowls, and 1,532 as not having this convenience.

Eight hundred and thirty-four of the kitchens studied had no sinks, but the remaining four thousand had either one or two.

Of the entire number of houses, only 268 were reported as needing repairs to the plumbing.

Porches.—The presence or absence of porches bears a close relation to the range of experience and the health habits of the members of the family, especially as it is generally possible to sit out of doors about half the year in Washington. That the degree of sense stimulation of Negroes is often limited by the structure of the houses in which they live, is shown by the fact that 30.3 per cent of the homes have no porches—neither back nor front; and only 26.5 per cent of the houses have front porches.

B. Internal Characteristics

The internal physical characteristics are revealed in the following statistical summaries:

Basements.—Of 3,104 houses about which it was possible to secure information, only 1,525 had basements, whereas 1,579 did not. Some of the basements are half size or small offices, while others are of full size. Six hundred and sixty houses were reported as having Bostonian basements (used for living quarters), but the majority of them are just cellars.

Stories.—Of 6,092 houses, 68 per cent have two stories; 15 per cent have three stories, and 3 per cent have one story.

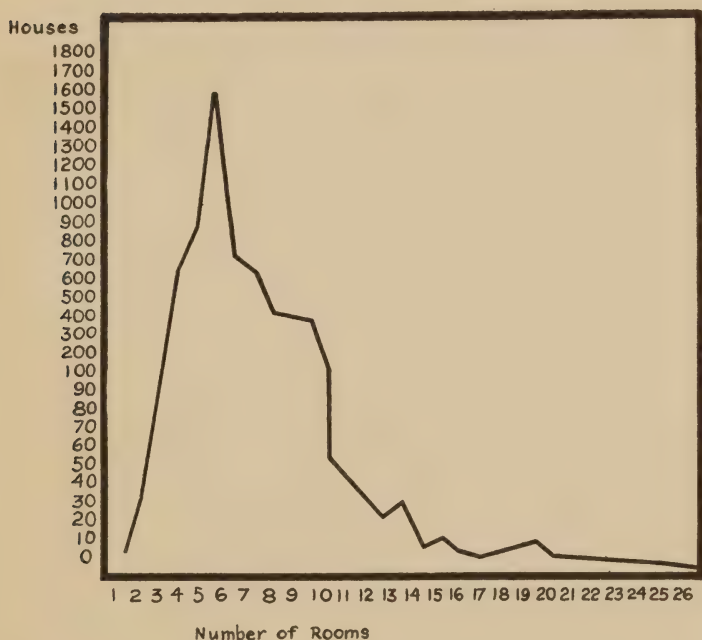
Conditions of roofs, ceilings, and floors.—The general conditions of the roofs, ceilings, and floors are quantitatively expressed in the following qualitative descriptions:

Roofs: 73.6 per cent, "good"; 19.0 per cent, "fair" (leak in spots in heavy storms); 7.1 per cent, "poor" (very leaky).

Ceilings: 67.1 per cent, "good"; 24.2 per cent, "fair" (plastering cracked or falling off in places); 7.1 per cent, "poor" (plastering practically all off).

Floors: 67.2 per cent, "good"; 24.0 per cent, "fair" (rough and somewhat warped); and 8.8 per cent, "poor" (badly in need of repairs).

Chart II, Showing The Frequency Distribution of Rooms



Heating and lighting.—The methods of heating and lighting homes vary widely—usually in accordance with the type and age of the house, and the economic standard of the family. The stove and the latrobe are the most common heating devices among the lower economic classes. Reports on 4,736 houses

show 461 steam furnaces, 634 hot water furnaces, 569 hot air furnaces, 53 oil heating systems, 1,662 stoves, 1,326 latrobes, and 31 latrobes and stoves. The stove is more prevalent in Southwest Washington than it is in the Northwest section of the city, but the latrobe is prevalent in all the districts of the city where the old-style houses are found.

A study of the lighting systems of these homes of colored people shows that 45.5 per cent are lighted with gas, 23.4 per cent by kerosene lamps, 28 per cent by electricity, and 3.8 per cent by gas and electricity. Many of the better appointed homes are equipped with expensive and attractive lighting fixtures.

Size of Negro dwellings.—The fact that 1,471 houses were reported as having six rooms shows that the average Negro home is of moderate size. Three houses were reported as having only one room; 33, two rooms; 94, three rooms; 512, four rooms; 765, five rooms; 620, seven rooms; 517, eight rooms; 318, nine rooms; 262, ten rooms; 93, eleven rooms; 46, twelve rooms; 12, thirteen rooms; 18, fourteen rooms; 7, fifteen rooms; 9, sixteen rooms; 2, twenty rooms, and 1, thirty rooms.

CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES OF HOMES

A convenient classification of homes is that used by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations.¹ This classification recognizes four types of homes: A, B, C, and D. The classification used in this study includes five types of houses, A, B, C, D, and E. Houses may be classified either on the basis of their external or internal characteristics. The internal characteristics frequently give a different classification to a home than do the mere external features. In many instances, small, externally unpretentious houses were found to be better furnished on the inside than many of the larger houses which were outwardly imposing. The classification of types of homes used in this study has been made as the result of a consideration of both external and internal features.

¹ See *The Negro in Chicago*, Chapter V.

The geographical distribution of types of homes.—The regional development of the city has been characterized by such marked social and economic differentiation of the population that sections like Southwest Washington have become identified with a population of more or less uniform economic status of its individual members. The houses of these sections are generally of uniform size and appointment, and over ninety per cent are rented.

Only a few Class B and practically no Class A houses are located in the Southwest, Southeast, and Northeast sections of the city. Occasionally, an imposing house is found to be occupied by Negroes, but, in general, the majority of Class A and B homes are found in the most prominent section of the city—Northwest Washington. And even here, the Class A type of home is confined largely to the community situated within the boundaries of Sixteenth and Eighteenth Streets, U Street and R Street. This part of the city is frequently referred to by persons in other communities as “Strivers’ Section,” or the “community of Negro aristocracy.” Most of the Type A houses in this section have recently been acquired from white people by Negroes who belong to the professional and semi-professional classes. A few Class A homes are scattered throughout LeDroit Park, and other sections of the city.

At least ninety per cent of these Type A homes are occupied by persons in the business and professional groups—medical doctors, dentists, druggists, teachers, bankers, real estate dealers, lawyers, and so forth. On S Street, in the 1700 block, one of these Class A houses is occupied by a minister.

These homes are very well appointed, being equipped with all the modern conveniences and labor-saving devices—such as electric washers, shower baths, electrical refrigeration, sun parlors, hardwood floors, ballrooms, large libraries, and sets of attractive furniture. Practically all of these homes are owned by their occupants.

Many of the Class B houses are equally as well appointed on the inside as the Class A type, but are inferior in land

values and purchase prices, and, hence, would not receive as high rating with the Real Estate Board, or even in the minds of the public, as those that fall in the A class. A large percentage of these homes are occupied by professional men, but they constitute primarily the residences of government employees, school teachers, and other middle-class wage earners. The majority of these homes are also owned by their occupants, having been purchased, chiefly, from white persons. Very few of the Class B houses have been built especially for Negroes. They represent, for the most part, a type of home superior to those which are being erected for Negroes by the various construction companies.

The Type B homes do not have the same definite geographical localization as do those in Class A. They are scattered, more or less, irregularly throughout the Northwest section of the city. These houses vary in size from six to eight rooms. All are equipped with modern conveniences, and reflect an atmosphere of coziness and comfort. Many of the owners of these homes reported that they had purchased them with cash payments of from eight to ten thousand dollars. Frequently these houses are of uniform style and occupy an entire block.

The Class C homes are even much more widely distributed than those in Class B. This class comprises the typical Negro residences—the two-story six-room houses. Most of the newly constructed homes for Negroes fall in this class. They are, in many instances, surprisingly well appointed on the inside, and have well-kept and attractive lawns. Many of them are occupied by well-to-do colored people who prefer to live economically.

These dwellings house at least one-half of the Negro population of Washington. Many of them are characterized by uniformity of structure, which, even though tiresome and inartistic, give to the community a certain physical characterization. This study revealed the fact that 39 per cent of these houses are rented—the rent varying from \$40 to \$65 per month.

The Class D home is recognizably below the level of the average Negro home. This type of house accommodates the

lower cultural and economic strata of the Negro population. The position of these homes in the ecological organization of the city reveals the fact that they are the habitats of the weaker and less successful economic competitors. Many of the Negro homes in Southwest Washington belong in this class. Very few of these homes are owned by their occupants. The rents for these dwellings range from \$25 to \$40 per month.

The type of homes that fall in Class E are the very worst habitations in the city. The alley houses and other shacks compose a large percentage of these homes. Practically all are rented and the rent varies from \$5 to \$25 per month. Many of these homes are a disgrace to the name "home." Their ecology, however, indicates that they are the "poor" man's domiciles. Poor people must live somewhere, and their poverty is the excuse for the existence of these homes. There seems to be, however, no justifiable excuse for their insanitary condition. These houses are found chiefly in "slum areas," but many of them are occupied by respectable, hard-working families. Several of the Class E homes were found to be congested, sixteen or eighteen people living in three or four rooms.

DESCRIPTIONS OF CONDITIONS OF NEGRO HOMES

The general characteristics of Negro homes are reflected in a few of the statements taken from the schedules of the investigators:

Plumbing in very bad condition, and no conveniences; very well kept home; house badly in need of repairs; very cozy; walls in bad condition; gas not turned on and owners refuse to repair; rent raised from \$20.50 to \$40.00 when owner papered and put on a new door; home exceptionally beautiful; artistic furniture and elaborate decorations; tastefully finished; terribly overcrowded and insanitary; dark and dangerous (gas leaks); very well appointed home; cement porch badly in need of repairs; well built and cozily kept; very unsightly; very well ventilated; one of the floors is bare; improvements are being made on this house; says house is in bad condition; water runs into the cellar; paper falling off ceiling and walls; house cold in winter; an exclusive home; poor con-

dition; little ventilation; ceilings in kitchen are cracking and plastering is falling; yards and fences poor; heating is poor and roof leaks; very damp; too damp to live in.

ATTITUDES OF OCCUPANTS

The verbal attitudes of the residents, both toward the houses in which they reside and toward the community or neighborhood in general, are indexes of the nature of their reactions to their immediate social and physical environments. Of a total of 5,282 families, 4,783 reported that they were satisfied with the neighborhoods in which they lived—with a few minor qualifications. Two hundred and ninety-nine registered emphatic dissatisfaction both with their houses and with the surrounding neighborhood. These facts indicate a tendency toward stability of the Negro population.

CHAPTER V

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NEGRO HOME IN WASHINGTON

The manner in which the life of the average Negro home is organized is determined, largely, by the cultural and economic status of the family and the influence of neighborhood and community forces. Just as the influences of these homes appear in the social life of the various communities, so the forces in the community have a determining effect upon the life and organization of the home.

Wherever a large number of Negroes are compelled by forces of segregation and comparative poverty to occupy a relatively small area, one finds that the majority of homes have lodgers—either individuals or families doing light housekeeping. The question of organized life in the Negro home centers around such factors as the occupation of the head of the home, two-family or duplex houses, number of occupants, means of communication, recreational features, length of residency.

A STUDY OF OCCUPANTS

Total number of persons in homes.—The most frequent number of persons per house was found to be four. There were 1,035 homes with four persons living in them; 1,026 with five persons; 865 with three persons; 805 with six persons; 613 with seven persons; 413 with eight persons; 244 with nine persons; 187 with ten persons; 95 with eleven persons; 61 with twelve persons; 31 with thirteen persons; 22 with fourteen persons; 10 with fifteen persons; 10 with sixteen persons; 4 with seventeen persons; 2 with eighteen persons; 2 with twenty persons; 1 with twenty-two persons, and 1 with twenty-four persons. There were also 91 houses that had only one occupant, and 608 with only two occupants.

These figures show that 16.8 per cent of the homes are inhabited by only four persons, whereas only 3.9 per cent have over ten persons occupying them. In the average home above Class D, few serious cases of congestion were discovered.

The number of children.—Of a total of 3,972 homes, 3,018 had children, and 954 did not. That is to say, 77.1 per cent of the homes studied had one or more juvenile occupants (persons fifteen years of age and under). Of these 3,018 there were 996 with one child; 850 with two children; 524 with three children; 308 with four children; 170 with five; 101 with six; 139 with seven; 20 with eight; 10 with nine; 2 with ten; 4 with eleven; 1 with twelve, and 3 with thirteen.

Lodgers.—Nineteen per cent of the homes studied in this survey were keeping lodgers. The most frequent number was found to be two.

The facts do not indicate that the keeping of lodgers is closely correlated with extremely high rents. In many instances there appeared to be no economic necessity for keeping lodgers—aside from the desire to commercialize the vacant rooms and, thereby, have more extra spending money for the family. It seems safe to say that in a large number of the homes where lodgers are kept it is not the result of the necessity of money in addition to the regular family income to meet extremely high rents, but, usually, the attempt to get farther ahead financially. The lodger problem expresses more of the desire to enjoy extravagances than it does the necessity of raising money for rent and living expenses, or for payments on homes. In the case of the homes of well-to-do Negroes, lodgers were found to be very rare.

In certain cases, however, the difficulty which Negroes have of securing desirable homes in satisfactory neighborhoods has tended to stimulate the home-purchasing impulse. And many who do not have incomes sufficient to purchase homes are forced to take lodgers in order to make a success of their financial undertakings.

The attempts to secure information from families concerning lodgers—especially concerning the amount of income secured from them—were generally met with resentment. In most cases, the number and sex of the lodgers were easily secured, but the amount of income secured from these roomers or boarders was almost invariably regarded as “too personal.”

A comparison of the number of male with the number of female lodgers reveals an interesting fact about the Negro population in Washington, viz., that of the 2,358 lodgers found in 1,336 homes, 1,487, or 63 per cent, were female lodgers. These facts indicate that there is a rather large number of homeless colored women in Washington. This seems to be accounted for in terms of the large number of governmental and educational positions that attract women to the city from other localities. Washington offers, also, a much more lucrative field for female than for male employment. The conspicuous absence of large industrial enterprise tends to limit the male inhabitants to the professions, the less significant trades, and menial employment. Another explanation of this high percentage of homeless women in Washington is seen in the fact that this city—being an educational center for Negroes—naturally has, during the major portion of the year, a large number of out-of-town students.

There are certain areas of the city which contain special blocks which are characterized by a high degree of transiency of the population. In such districts, there would naturally be found a large number of lodgers. The map of the ecology of the Negro lodgers in Washington shows a marked density in and around the commercial zones—along the trade and transportation routes.

Several houses were reported as having one or more lodger-families doing light house-keeping. This seems to be a rather prevalent practice on the part of young married couples. There are very few cases of mature married couples as lodgers in someone else's home, except where, as in the case of the three-story house, they occupy the entire third story as an apartment.

Lodgers have a very definite effect upon family organization. They are not natural links in the chain of interacting individuals whose relations to each other are determined more or less by a biological as well as social relationship. Hence, the dwellers in furnished rooms are never really integral parts of the "natural family." Their contacts with the members of the household in which they are living are usually impersonal and of a secondary nature. At most of the points of their lives, they maintain the conventional relations by means of wide social distances.

A prevalent type of residence in Washington is the so-called two-family or duplex house, built on the order of an apartment, but with only two stories. The second floor is separated entirely from the first, and constitutes a separate flat with a separate entrance. These buildings ordinarily house two families. Often the family which owns the house lives down stairs, and by renting out the flat on the second floor, is able to secure enough income from this rent to meet practically its monthly installments.

Occupational status of heads of homes.—The various kinds of occupations at which the heads of Negro homes work are shown in the following table which is based upon the reports obtained from 5,062 homes. This table shows that the most prevalent occupational type is the day laborer, followed closely by the government employee. These two occupational types are followed in order by the domestic, the chauffeur, the porter, the clerk, the cook, the waiter, the laundress, the mechanic, and the teacher. This table is also significant in representing the variety of the occupations at which Negroes in Washington are employed. These five thousand homes represent more than one hundred and forty different forms of employment. The professions and skilled occupations are shown to have a normal degree of prevalence among these various types of employment. The medical profession constitutes 1.2 per cent of the total number of occupations.

It was found that in general the occupational status of the heads of homes is an important determining factor in the character of the organization of the home, the status of the family, and the tone of the neighborhood or community.

TABLE XI

Occupations of Heads of 5,062 Homes

Agriculture	1	Dentists	11
Architects	5	Decorators	2
Army and Navy Club.....	1	Department store	2
Artists	1	Detectives	1
Bank runners.....	4	Designers	1
Bakers	17	Drivers (truck).....	38
Barbers	45	Dist. workers	1
Bellmen	18	Domestics	338
Boarding house	4	Doormen	2
Brick masons	29	Drillers	1
Business	52	Dyers	1
Butlers	12	Dealers (coal)	5
Butchers	12	Dealers (junk)	9
Care for children.....	1	Dealers (ordinary)	1
Carpenters	51	Electricians	14
Clerks	139	Elevator operators	8
Cleaners	13	Engineers	19
Chauffeurs	172	Egg vendors	1
Contractors	24	Expressmen	51
Coal miners	1	Firemen	28
Chefs	12	Fishermen	2
Caterers	8	Florists	3
Cashiers	4	Footmen	2
Caretakers	6	Foremen	6
Cement workers	21	Freight	1
Charwomen	7	Furnace	1
Chemists	9	Furniture retailers.....	1
Chiropractors	3	Garbage collectors	3
City workers	12	Gardeners	11
Clergymen	43	Gas station	1
Cobblers	3	Government employees	572
Cooks	132	Grooms	2
Dairymen	3	Grocers	19
Deans	1	Hairdressers	44

Hatmakers	1	Pharmacists	17
Hostlers	5	Policemen	16
Housekeepers	27	Proofreaders	1
Hotel employees	12	Plumbers	22
Hotel aides	1	Pressers	3
Hucksters	9	Painters	32
Icemen	7	Pullman porters	15
Insurance agents	18	Porters	158
Job workers	1	Physicians	62
Jewelers	2	Printers	20
Janitors	86	Plasterers	21
Keeps boarders	1	Photographers	4
Keepers of store.....	2	Professors (Col).....	4
Landscape gardeners.....	1	Principals	1
Laborers	947	Roofers	1
Laundresses	108	Repair men	1
Lawyers	40	Real Estate deal.....	20
Landlady	1	Retired	15
Laundry employees	27	Room (pool).....	2
Lunch room employees.....	1	Sargents	1
Linen clerks	1	Soldiers	2
Live on income.....	3	Station emp.....	1
Lumbermen	12	Social workers	12
Managers	4	Shoemakers	11
Market men.....	1	Salesmen	33
Matrons	1	Stewards	11
Maids	11	Seamstresses.....	45
Machinists	8	Sextons	5
Messengers	16	Sailors	2
Mechanics	106	Theatre Mgrs.....	2
Merchants	2	Teachers	104
Missionaries	1	Tailors	32
Midwives	2	Taxi drivers.....	5
Musicians	20	Theatre emp.....	2
Newspapermen	4	Undertakers	7
Night watchmen	18	Upholsterers	2
Nurses	9	Waiters	117
Packers	1	Waitresses	6
Paperhangers	9	Washington Term.....	1
Pantrymen	1	No reports	229

"Sundown occupations."—A factor which plays a significant rôle in the economic life of the average Negro home in

Washington is what is generally known as the "sundown occupation." Many homes were found in which the head of the family worked regularly at two jobs. This is especially true of those heads of homes that have government positions. The early closing hours enable the employee to engage in another occupation during the evening. Several government clerks were found practicing law, selling real estate, printing, waiting on table, or working at gasoline filling stations after the closing hours of the department in which they were employed. These "sundown occupations" greatly enhance the economic status of the family. The average salary of Negro male government employees ranges from \$125 to \$150 per month, which is by no means adequate to maintain the standard of living which is characteristic of the average government clerk. Those who desire the comforts of a well-appointed home, the luxuries of an automobile, frequent entertainments, and membership in a number of social clubs are forced to supplement their salaries received from the government by additional money secured from spare-time jobs. It is often the case, therefore, that, instead of the income of the head of the home being merely \$150 a month, it approximates \$250 or \$300 a month. The "sundown occupation" has, therefore, very great economic significance for the life of the average Negro home.

Female employment.—Another factor which is of equal, if not greater significance, than the "sundown employment" is the prevalent tendency for the wife to work and help with the support of the family. This is the principal key to the solution of the problem of how so many colored families that are not in the professional or other upper economic classes are able to maintain such high degrees of comfort and luxury in their homes.

The following wage scale for colored women shows the amount of income with which they are able to enhance the standard of living of the Negro family in Washington.

The average salaries for Negro women who work in clerical positions, especially those connected with the government, range from \$80 to \$110.

The majority of Negro homes are vacant during the day—both the wife and husband being away at work and the children away at school. A large number of families reported to the writer that the wife's salary goes to help defray many of the

TABLE XII
Scale of Wages for Women in Industry¹

Weekly Wage	Percentage of Female Employees
\$25 to 30	.06
20 to 25	.06
15 to 20	.11
10 to 15	.69
5 to 10	.08

expenses connected with the home—for furniture, clothes, and, in several instances, automobiles. There can be no doubt that the employment of the wife is a powerful economic factor in the success of Negro family life in Washington. The rapid progress of the Negro in purchasing homes can be attributed to no other factor to the same extent that it can to the employment of the female members of the family.

In many cases, the wife's salary merely solves the problem of her own clothes and other personal luxuries. But careful consideration of the budgets of most Negro families in Washington will show that this item is not an insignificant one. This financial independence and assistance of the wife has not

¹ These figures are based on the data secured from an investigation of Negro Women in Industry in Washington, a study made by the author in 1927 for the Consumers League of the District of Columbia.

only elevated the status of the Negro family, but has made possible a more successful and wholesome family life. It has secured for the Negro woman a greater amount of respect in the home and fuller satisfaction with herself and with the rôle which she plays in her family.

An editorial, written by a white woman, entitled "Local Color out of the Kitchen; A Domestic View of What the War has Done for the Negro Race in Washington," appeared in a March issue of the New York Times for 1919. The following excerpt from it reflects, in a sense, the new economic status of the Negro woman in this city:

These few sketches from life are designed to shed a little light on a dark subject. Washington has long been the Mecca for the more ambitious of the descendants of Ham, and since the War it has become truly a green pasture for them, where many of their fondest dreams are pleasant realities. "Wahs have done heaps for the colored race," I heard one girl philosophically remark. "The civil wah has set us free, and, now, this wah has made us ladies." It made me wish to go back to being just a plain woman. Perhaps that is one thing the war has done for us—made the colored women ladies, and made the white ladies merely women, eager to work and play, if we have time, but no longer with play as the Alpha and Omega of a polite existence. How far both types have evolved as an indirect result of the war remains to be seen.

Undoubtedly, there are certain indications of changes in the economic position of the colored woman in her own home. The need to add to the family income is not so pressing. Indeed, as one woman put it: "Our husbands do not wish us to work. They are ample to support us." It always takes leisure and affluence for a wife to develop a proper pride in her husband as head of the family.

This betterment of the family finances is naturally reflected in their spirit as well as in their clothes and their homes. As to the clothes, the average colored woman around Washington is a well-dressed female, comparatively speaking. She affects none of your gaudy apparel so common in the South and West. Of course, a large city has always a subduing effect on clothes, but another factor is the ability now to pay more and buy outright, instead of using make-shifts or hand-me-downs. It is a pretty safe proposition to say that the more refined garments are, the more expensive they are. Recently I was discussing the question of wages with a capable colored woman evidently trying to live up to her possibilities, when, in the course of the conversation, she remarked:

"You know when we have to pay \$12 a pair for our shoes and 50 cents for every bushel of coal, we simply must ask for more pay in order to live." I was too much amused to mind my inclusion, and too much surprised to tell her that both premises were wrong, as I could get perfectly decent shoes for less, and that, fortunately, I didn't have to purchase my coal by the bushel.

A friend of mine, not realizing that a mental change had also taken place and thinking that the whole female colored world was made up of potential cooks for her own exploitation, went around asking each one she met if she knew of some one for her house-work. "Just look in the glass, madame, and you will find what you are looking for," was one of the replies. To be sure, my acquaintance laid herself open to such an answer by her method of approach, but it was hardly one that she would have recieved under pre-war conditions. "The world do move," as the old colored preacher used to say.

We have only our old friend the law of supply and demand to blame for so topsy-turvy a condition of affairs, for besides the wage-earning husband many of the daughters have also been taken over into Government employ. The mothers, too, working in the wee small hours, get the pay of many a school-teacher. "Why should I take in washing when I draw \$45 a month from the Government and am through my work by 9 o'clock in the morning?" one old janitress asked me. Why should she, indeed? She didn't say when she began her day's work, but early hours have not been any great hardship this mild Winter, and the pay is good, while the feeling of leisure must be as pleasant as it is novel.

The elevators in the large department stores and elsewhere are being run by the colored girls, and in most cases they are doing it pretty well. Overcome by the dignity of the situation, the fact that they take themselves so seriously gives them a certain poise in a position that calls distinctly for poise. Many are good-looking, as good looks go, and if at first a few showed that their heads were turned by the peremptory way in which they called out to the patrons, "Watch your step!" these few have either been made to watch their own step out of the door, or have toned down, unconsciously.

It is naturally a more interesting job—looking on at the crowds of shopping humanity surging in and out and feeling that you are a part of it, occupying the center of a crowded little stage, but nevertheless your own.

No wonder the girl prefers it to some one else's kitchen, monotonous with its three meals a day, relying for its variety upon the scrubbing brush and pail. One woman told her mistress when she asked what the Colored Women's Red Cross had done at its meeting that afternoon: "Oh, we adopted a new slogan today. It is 'Every woman out of the kitchen by Christmas'." Christmas has come and gone, and many

more will, I know, before such a domestic millenium will come to pass. Can the leopard change his spots? Can you change over night an attitude of centuries? This awful cataclysm of war has changed many things, and there is evidence that it has changed the views and perhaps the position of women, even the colored women, but the change for them is temporary.

The dark side of the situation in which the wife or mother is working out of the home is that of neglect of children. The childless family is better off with the wife working, but there is too large a percentage of families with children who have no adult supervision during the day. However, the mere presence of the parent in the home during the day is no positive assurance that the children will receive the proper guidance and protection. Hence, the absence of the mother is not necessarily harmful. In many instances, it is better for the mother to be working and improving the economic status of the family than to be remaining at home in an environment with few of the necessities which her labor might supply for her children.

The period of residency.—In view of the fact that housing conditions are often directly or indirectly affected by the period of time during which the residents have lived in the city, special attention was devoted to ascertaining whether the occupants of the homes which were studied were old residents of the city—having lived here for five years and over—or new comers—a period of residency of less than five years. Out of 5,404 homes, 4,978, or 91.9 per cent of the families had resided in Washington for five years or more. These facts show that there have been no such marked increases of the Negro population during the last five years as occurred about 1917 and 1918.

It was found to be even more significant to ascertain the number of years during which the families had lived in the houses which they were occupying at the time of this survey. The results are presented in the following table:

TABLE XIII

Length of Residency for 5,330 Families

<i>Number of years</i>	<i>Number of Families</i>
Less than one year.....	699
One year and over.....	339
Two years and over.....	420
Three years and over.....	432
Four years and over.....	407
Five years and over.....	309
Six years and over.....	255
Seven years and over.....	370
Eight years and over.....	209
Nine years and over.....	149
Ten years and over.....	285
Eleven years and over.....	94
Twelve years and over.....	145
Thirteen years and over.....	63
Fourteen years and over.....	52
Fifteen years and over.....	114
Sixteen years and over.....	45
Seventeen years and over.....	42
Eighteen years and over.....	34
Nineteen years and over.....	7
Twenty years and over.....	101
Twenty-one years and over.....	15
Twenty-two years and over.....	23
Twenty-three years and over.....	25
Twenty-four years and over.....	7
Twenty-five years and over.....	59
Twenty-six years and over.....	6
Twenty-seven years and over.....	7
Twenty-eight years and over.....	20
Twenty-nine years and over.....	39
Thirty years and over.....	91
Thirty-one years and over.....	15
Thirty-two years and over.....	11
Thirty-three years and over.....	13
Thirty-four years and over.....	12
From thirty-five to seventy years.....	374

The fact that such a large proportion of Negro families have lived in the same houses for a considerable length of time is evidence of a substantial basis for community feeling in most of the areas of the city.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES OF THE NEGRO HOME

Nearly every Negro home was found to be equipped with some kind of musical instrument for affording amusement and recreation.¹ This survey revealed the fact that 79.1 per cent of the homes had one or more musical instruments. Many of the homes were found to have pianos, graphophones, and wind or string instruments. Among these musical instruments, the piano was found to be the most prevalent; being found in 36.4 per cent of the homes.

Of the entire number of families studied, 25.7 per cent owned automobiles; 32.3 per cent were equipped with radios. The radio is rapidly becoming a most important agency of recreation in the Negro home. As a means of communication, it is bringing about wider psychic mobility of the Negro family, tending more than any other agency to destroy the cultural isolation between Negroes and white people, which is more or less traditional in the city of Washington.

The following table presents statistical data regarding the reading habits of Negro families, with special reference to newspapers and magazines:

TABLE XIV

Newspapers in Negro Homes

<i>Names of Newspapers</i>	<i>No. of Families Subscribing</i>
The Evening Star.....	1,473
The Times	498
The News	444
The Washington Post.....	313

¹ Cf. William H. Jones, *Recreation and Amusement among Negroes in Washington, D. C.*, pp. 102-103.

The Herald	158
The Washington Tribune (colored).....	175
The Afro-American (colored).....	86
The Eagle (colored).....	82
The Chicago Defender (colored).....	74
The Pittsburg Courier (colored).....	8
The Sentinel (colored).....	8
Total	3,319

The schedules show that 20.5 per cent of the families subscribe to no newspapers; 40.7 per cent were subscribing to one newspaper, 21.7 per cent, to two; and 10.1 per cent, to three or more.

The following table shows the kinds of magazines which are read by Negro families and the number of homes in which each magazine was found:

TABLE XV

<i>Names of Magazines</i>	<i>Number of Families</i>
Household Times	1
Country Gentleman	1
Business Magazine	1
Pathfinder	1
Independent	1
Century	1
Outlook	1
Vanity Fair	1
Atlantic Monthly	2
American Mercury	2
Nation	2
Christian Advocate	2
Physical Culture	2
Life	3
Journal of Negro History.....	3
Popular Mechanics	3
Scribner's	3
Liberty	3
Collier's	3
Red Book	4
Popular Science	4

Messenger	4
Harper's	5
Woman's Home Companion.....	6
Unity	6
Opportunity	6
McCall's	8
Delineator	10
American	12
True Story	17
Literary Digest	17
Crisis	18
Cosmopolitan	19
Saturday Evening Post.....	21
Good Housekeeping	28
Ladies' Home Journal.....	57
<hr/>	
Total	338

An extensive variety of magazines was found in the Negro homes studied in this survey, but regular subscriptions to magazines were not found to be prevalent. Of the total number of families studied, 51.4 per cent did not subscribe to any magazines.

TELEPHONES

Another device for communication, besides the newspaper and radio, which tends to counteract the process of social differentiation on the basis of race, is the telephone. But only a little over one third of the Negro homes in Washington are equipped with this instrument. Of the total number of homes studied, only 40.2 per cent were so equipped. This shows a rather limited means of communication. The telephone is not as prevalent in Negro homes in Washington as it is in those of certain other large cities; nor does it seem to be as great a necessity. The public telephone in the corner drug store or delicatessen appears to serve the majority of families.

GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION OF NEGRO HOMES IN WASHINGTON

The following statements, taken from the schedules of the investigators, picture the variety of conditions which are involved in the life of the colored homes of this city:

Evidence of selling liquor; very cozy; home exceptionally beautiful; artistic furniture and elaborate decorations; terribly overcrowded and insanitary; found women cooking meat in front room, and house was very untidy; fair home; well built and cozily kept; beautifully furnished; overcrowded; four women and two men roomers; house well-kept and living conditions better than those of most homes in this community; evidence of prostitution; rather congested; very disorderly house; very clean; female head of home; house overcrowded; oil lamps for lights, and only the bare necessities of life; palatial home, beautifully furnished; carrying on illicit sale of liquor; people evidently in very comfortable financial circumstances; rather hard to get information from the lady; white people live here, would move but have invalid mother; house very dirty and untidy; too crowded; very modern; people poor, but house is neat and clean; house is well-kept, and the mother and son are both practicing medicine in the same house; very poorly kept home; house dirty, congested and poorly arranged; model home—magnificently furnished; very untidy; conditions unfavorable; house fairly well-kept, and the people appear to be very industrious even though they are very poor.

CHAPTER VI

HOME OWNERSHIP AND TENANCY

HOME OWNERSHIP

Negroes in Washington have always made prodigious efforts to secure homes of their own, chiefly on account of the limited number of houses available and the insecurity involved in renting. Homes for rent to Negroes are not as plentiful as they are for white people; nor can the renter be certain of always being able to locate in desirable communities. Then too, the rapid increases in the Negro population in Washington during the past fifteen years have enhanced this "scramble" for homes. White real estate and construction companies have readily responded to this home-purchasing impulse and have erected hundreds of new private homes and apartment houses for colored people. These real estate companies report

The purchase price of the average home that is acquired by Negroes is between \$6,000 and \$7,000. Many of the homes that were purchased several years ago, when real estate values were comparatively low, were secured for prices that ranged from \$1,000 to \$4,000. The average price of Type B homes is between \$10,000 and \$12,000, whereas that of Type A homes is between \$15,000 and \$20,000. Five Negro property owners evaluated their homes at \$25,000, and thirteen at \$20,000.

The average initial cash payment on the \$7,000 home is \$500, with the monthly payment ranging from \$50 to \$65. The \$10,000 home requires a cash payment of from \$1,000 to \$1,500, and monthly payments of from \$65 to \$100.

No small number of Negroes were found to have purchased their homes at cash payments of from \$7,000 to \$10,000. They were generally persons who had recently arrived from the South, where they had conducted prosperous economic enterprises.

It was discovered, however, that the purchase price was a matter on which most people were rather sensitive, and, hence, reluctant to give information.

The results of this survey indicate that ownership and renting are related not only to certain definite areas of the city, but are closely correlated with definite social blocks. And it is possible, therefore, to refer to certain blocks as those of "home-owners" or "tenants." In some of these social blocks, one solid side of the street is "owned" while the other side is solidly occupied by renters. This geographical distribution of renters and owners is shown on the accompanying spot map.

For a city of its size, Washington has a rather high percentage of homeowners. The facts which were taken from a study of 5,450 homes show that 2,536, or 46.5 per cent, were owned or were being purchased. Whereas, 2,914, or 53.4 per cent, were rented. The fact that approximately one half of the homes occupied by Negroes, in the Northwest and Southwest sections of the city, are owned by their occupants is a high commendation of their thrift.

The home-purchasing movement appears to be concentrating in the newer sections of the city, chiefly those sections into which the Negro population is expanding. There is a relatively small amount of property owned by Negroes in Georgetown and Southwest Washington. In general, the economic status of the Negroes in these sections is much lower than that of the Northwest. In the Northwest section, property values are generally higher than they are in any other part of the city.

Several of the homes in which Negro tenants are living are owned by Negroes. This fact increases, by a considerable degree, the number of homes having Negro ownership. The larger percentage of the rented homes, however, are the property of white persons.

TENANCY

Washington, being a non-industrial city, does not, therefore, have the large percentage of transients among working men that certain other cities have. As an urban center, it presents no great attraction to the seasonal laborer or industrial worker. Hence, the number of renters among Negroes is not extremely large.

Certain communities, such as those in Southwest Washington, Georgetown, and parts of Northwest Washington—particularly those areas near the trade and transportation routes—are typical renting neighborhoods. There is generally a noticeable difference in the cultural tones of the “renting community” and the so-called “community of owners.” Home owners exhibit more of the sense of community responsibility and pride; their yards, fences, and houses are generally kept neater and more attractive than those of renters, and the spirit of community interest and solidarity is much stronger. Since the community of owners is characterized by permanency of residence—though the vital interests of its members are not limited by strict geographical lines—it usually displays evidences of strong community consciousness. Its members are able to exercise more control over their own immediate needs. The influence that a property owner can wield in securing advantages and improved facilities, in keeping undesirable influences out of the community, and in promoting the general welfare of its life renders it far superior to the community of renters. The advantages which groups of property owners have repeatedly secured from petitioning commissioners and other District officials are indicative of the significance of home ownership.

In community enterprises that call for voluntary effort, renters contribute very little time, energy, or money. Churches and other institutions which have to be built by voluntary subscriptions are reported as having a very small number of tenants as contributors. Several tenants stated that the reason

why they did not contribute much of their time and money to the support of neighborhood institutions and enterprises was because they were not assured of a sufficiently long tenure in the community to reap any definite benefits from them for themselves as individuals.

A comparison of the various communities established the indisputable fact that communities that have a large percentage of tenants in their populations not only fail to carry out successful community enterprises, but fail even to exhibit much concern about them. The communities of renters are, therefore, rather unprogressive.

The causes of Negro tenancy were found to be chiefly economic and occupational. A large percentage of the renters are poor people—people who are unable to accumulate any savings, and who, in many instances, have no permanent form of employment. Some renters, however, were found to be persons who have considerable economic means, but who, because of their brief residency in this city, have not yet become sufficiently well settled to become property owners.

LeDroit Park is a typical example of a fairly well-organized community which is composed, chiefly, of property owners. It exhibits evidence of improvement and upkeep of property. It has now become fairly well integrated as a geographical expression of Negro group life.

Many of the neighborhoods that are composed of tenants are undergoing or have undergone disorganization. This disorganizing process has been characterized by the weakening of public opinion and the mores, general instability of the population, and depreciation of property values. The following statement, taken from the report of an investigator, contains a description of one such community:

When one enters this section, from all external appearances, it is obvious that this is a disorganized community. The houses are weather worn and dilapidated. Paper or rags are stuffed in many of the broken windows. Women with uncombed hair, wearing dress caps and house slippers, may be seen sitting in the windows yelling across the street for

one thing or another, making signs to passersby, and using all sorts of profane language. Some of them are dressed very untidily, others vulgarly. One can also see numerous children who appear to be terribly undernourished—many of them with sores all over their bodies and faces. They are very ragged and dirty, and many stated that they had never heard of such a thing as a Sunday School. About the men, one woman made the following statement::

“These men ain’t no ’count now days; no use fooling with them. They just want a woman who will take care of them.”

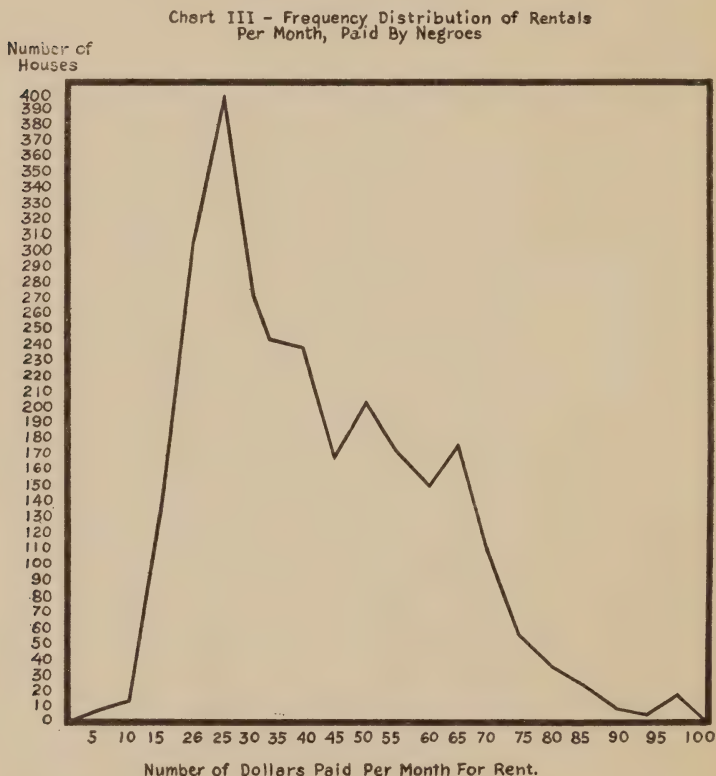
Most of the men have no desire for employment. They spend their time hanging out around the pool rooms or shooting craps on the corners of the streets. They can be seen going back and forth at all hours of the night. These people are allowed to be bootleggers and carry on all kinds of illicit relations without being handled. They pay the policeman a certain amount of money, which keeps them out of trouble.

As for music—those who have some kind of instrument play “blues” incessantly from morning until the late hours of the night.

The facts which were disclosed in this survey show that the number of occupants in the rented home is, in general, not in excess of the number of persons who dwell in the home which is owned. Lodgers were found to be as prevalent in the homes of renters as in those of owners, but different results were obtained from different localities. In the community, including the 1700 block of S Street, are a large number of houses—ranging in size from six to fifteen rooms—with the number of occupants ranging from three to eight persons. Most of these homes are owned by their occupants, who are persons of good economic standing. In other sections of the city, such as certain portions of LeDroit Park, there were found a rather small number of persons living in the homes.

The question as to whether Negroes in Washington are forced to pay exorbitant rents for the houses which they occupy is one which—in the light of the facts brought out in this survey—must be answered in the negative. There were very few cases which showed that rents were outrageously high. The facts showed that the amount of rent collected from 2,914 homes was \$116,799.45 per month. The rents

that occurred most frequently varied from \$20 to \$25 per month; 14.4 per cent of the homes were paying this rental. The next highest rates of rent were found to fall in the following groups: from \$15 to \$20 per month, from \$25 to \$30 per month, from \$35 to \$40 per month, and from \$60 to \$65



per month, respectively. The majority of rentals paid by Negroes in Washington fall between \$15 and \$65. Only ninety-eight homes were found to be paying from \$65 to \$70, fifty-one from \$70 to \$75, twenty-two from \$75 to \$80,

eighteen from \$80 to \$85, and twenty from \$90 to \$100. Five houses were reported as having rentals as high as \$120, and one with a rental of \$150 per month. Fourteen homes were being rented for less than \$10 per month. These were either dilapidated shacks or some of the houses provided by the Washington Sanitary Housing Company.

According to the designations of the Rent Commission these figures show that there is no marked evidence of exploitation of Negroes by means of exorbitant rents. Rather, they show that Negroes in Washington pay very normal rentals for their homes. In many cases it was found that the families were having difficulty in raising the money with which to pay their rents, but this was not due to the fact that they were being overcharged as much as it was to the fact that they were financially incapable of providing the price of normal rentals.

There were found, however, several instances in which excessive increases accompanied trivial and inexpensive repairs. Instances were found where the rent had been increased by ten dollars per month, because one room had been repapered or a new lock had been placed on the door. Many small houses which had been allowed by their owners to become dilapidated and insanitary were exacting as much rental as they would merit only when in good repair.

Where increases in rent are made the usual increase at any given time—except where extensive repairs have been made—is \$5 per month.

The 2,914 rented homes which were studied, comprised a total of 36,217 rooms—showing an average of 12.42 rooms per house, and an average rental of \$3.22 per room per month. These figures show that the Negro tenant is paying a normal rental for his home.

CHAPTER VII

APARTMENT HOUSES AND HOTELS

Apartment life is a relatively new experience for the Washington Negro. In 1920 there was an exceedingly small number of genuine apartment buildings for Negroes in the city. The nearest type of building to an apartment was the two-family flat. About 1924, however, a few genuine apartment buildings were constructed and several formerly occupied by white people—because of the shifting of the Negro population—passed unexpectedly into the hands of Negroes. It is significant to note that, in the transition of a community from white to Negro inhabitants, the apartment house plays a conservative rôle—being, in nearly every instance, the last stronghold of white residency to give way to Negro invasion. There is a definite reason why the apartment is slow in passing over to Negro occupancy for it constitutes a sort of neighborhood in and of itself. Its life is more or less independent of that of its immediate environment. The neighbors of the apartment dweller are primarily the persons who live in the other apartments of the building; more specifically, those who occupy the same floor. Hence, the apartment building constitutes the physical boundaries of a more or less distinct neighborhood, dissociated—except for location—from the rest of the community. A careful study of the life of the apartment house established the fact that it is quite aloof from the general life of the immediate geographical area in which it is situated. The highly transient nature of its residents, their pronounced outside interests, and their freedom from community responsibility cause them to disregard, more or less, even the changes in the racial composition of the population of the surrounding neighborhood, as long as these changes are not extending to the internal life of the apartment. White occupants of apartment houses do not usually

experience the same kind of feelings that white persons who live in the surrounding private residences experience when confronted by a Negro invasion, because they are not in danger of having Negroes as neighbors across the hall or on the other floors of the building. As long as an apartment house is occupied by white people, there exists, within, a white neighborhood with its own life and with likemindedness, consciousness-of-kind, and common interests.

Hence, the apartment houses tend to remain as the last vestiges of white tenure in communities which have become "colored." But, in due time, they too, are surrendered to the invaders. During the last five years, about thirty-five or forty apartment houses have "gone over" to Negroes, and almost as many have been constructed for their occupancy by such real estate companies as the B. F. Saul Co., the Cafritz Co., and various other business concerns. At the present time, the apartment building enterprise is very popular. These new dwellings are proving extremely attractive, and are being rented as fast as they can be built. There are several elements that render them attractive: (1) their newness, and the fact that they are equipped with modern conveniences. Negroes are now becoming more and more eager for modern homes—new homes. This is not only true of Washington, but of other cities as well; (2) the new style of life which the apartment makes possible. It fosters a life characterized by closer contact and intimacy—a corporate life under a common roof, an integrated family which lacks the blood bond but retains the fellowship; (3) these apartments also furnish a certain anonymity which is to many glaringly fascinating. It makes possible the carefree life with its "touch-and-go contacts" and lack of community responsibility; (4) it is also a shield to much unconventional behavior, since the public eye cannot detect anything "improper" in the frequent "coming and going" that characterizes the life of its occupants.

It is now becoming quite conventional for three or four

young men to rent and furnish an apartment, and live a more or less Bohemian life. Likewise, insurgent women who are seeking ultra-independence and Bohemianism¹ frequently choose the apartment as their place of dwelling.

These changes in the modes of living, which apartments have effected in the life of the Washington Negro, have resulted in modifications of the mores²—especially those relating to sex, the family, and the division of labor.

The welfare of the child in the apartment presents a rather grave moral and social problem, because Negro apartment life—with the usual exceptions—has not developed beyond certain dangerous stages. The temptations of this new mode of life are quite strong, and are always in danger of gaining ascendancy. In many of these apartments, bootlegging, assignation and prostitution were found to be unusually common. Hence, this new style of life naturally carries along with it new problems of morality. The *milieu* in which these children are obliged to grow to maturity is often heavily laden with anti-social elements.

There are also present in the life of the apartment house forces which tend to undermine the solidarity of the individual family. These disintegrating forces are potential in the life of practically every apartment—because of the difficulties of control and the closeness of contact which it affords.

On the other hand, the apartment makes possible a type of life which satisfies the gregarious impulses and interests in a manner more satisfactorily than does the private home. The development of the apartment movement is an expression of the beginning of a new corporate life for Negroes in Washington. The apartment house is now playing a leading rôle

¹ Bohemianism means a life which is liberal and more or less unconventional. A Bohemian is one who refuses to be rigidly bound by custom.

² "Mores"=Customs and social habits which are fundamental and obligatory—regarded as being absolutely essential to the preservation of group life.

among the institutions that are making Negro life in Washington genuinely urban.

The following table shows the number of apartments in apartment buildings:

TABLE XVI
Number of Apartments in Apartment Houses

Number of Apartment Houses	Number of Apartments
1	2
5	3
11	4
10	6
1	7
7	8
3	9
2	10
1	11
2	12
6	16
1	17
1	19
2	20
3	22
1	30
1	32
1	40

In this survey, sixty apartment buildings were carefully studied. These sixty buildings comprised 612 separate apartments, with a total of 2,157 rooms and 1,567 occupants. The total amount of rent collected from these 612 apartments was found to be \$28,453—with an average monthly rental per apartment house of \$474.21; per separate apartment of \$46.47, per room of \$13.14. The total number of bedrooms for these

612 apartments was 920, with an average of 1.72 persons per bedroom. A study of the frequency of the number of bedrooms showed 276 apartments with only one bedroom. There were 202 with two bedrooms; 32 with three, two with four; and two with no reports as to the number of bedrooms. The greatest frequency of the total number of rooms in the apartments was three—175 apartments were reported as having three rooms; 163 with four; 85 with five; 37 with six, and four with seven rooms.

The following table contains a summary of the rentals of 530 separate apartments:

TABLE XVII
Rentals of 530 Apartments

Number of Apartments	Amount of Rent	Number of Apartments	Amount of Rent
15	12.50	41	50.00
1	20.00	25	50.50
19	25.00	1	52.00
4	30.00	26	52.50
35	35.00	34	55.00
2	35.50	4	55.50
11	37.50	3	57.50
39	39.50	1	60.00
34	40.00	44	60.50
1	40.50	2	62.50
16	42.50	6	65.00
1	44.50	27	65.50
98	45.00	2	66.50
4	45.50	8	67.00
2	46.50	3	70.00
17	47.50	23	75.00
5	48.00	4	80.00

At the time of this survey, these 612 apartments housed 1,341 adults and 226 children. The most frequent number of children was found to fall between three and five.

Rentals of Apartments.—The greatest amount of rent which any one apartment house was yielding to its owners was \$1,440 per month. Four other apartment buildings were bringing monthly rentals of more than a thousand dollars.

Period of Negro Occupancy.—That the apartment is an innovation in the life of Washington Negroes is indicated by the short periods of time during which Negroes have been occupying them. The following table presents data on this point:

TABLE XVIII

Period of Negro Occupancy of Apartments

<i>Period of Occupancy</i>	<i>No. of Apt. Buildings</i>
Less than one year.....	7
One year and over.....	13
Two years and over.....	10
Three years and over.....	4
Four years and over.....	4
Five years and over.....	1
Eight years and over.....	3
Ten years and over.....	3
Fifteen years and over.....	2
Seventeen years and over.....	2
Twenty years and over.....	2
Thirty years and over.....	1
No report as to years.....	4

Ownership of Apartment Buildings.—The majority of the apartment buildings occupied by Negroes are owned and managed by white individuals or corporations. Of the sixty apartment houses surveyed, forty-three had white ownership and seventeen had colored ownership. The apartments which are owned by Negroes are generally small buildings—seldom having more than six apartments.

Lighting and heating.—Most of the apartment houses are new and are, therefore, equipped with modern facilities. Fifty-six were lighted with electricity and four with gas.

Fifty-four were being heated with steam, two with hot air, three with gas, and one with hot water.

The locations of Negro Apartment Buildings.—The spot map of Negro apartment houses shows the close relation which they bear to the trade and commercial areas of the city. Several are situated on transportation routes, but a large number have their location in residential sections which border on trade areas. They are almost invariably located in the densely populated Negro districts and are confined chiefly to the northwest section of the city. Wherever apartment houses are located, there has been a decline in the value of the single-family houses. This seems to be due to the fact that the apartment house destroys the quiet, secluded life of the community, and renders insignificant the one-or-two-family house. The apartment building hides the adjacent private home by towering far above it and projecting beyond the established building line in the front or in the rear—sometimes both. Several persons who were living in juxtaposition to recently erected apartment houses stated that they were making plans to move, because they felt too “shut in” and because they desired to escape the morbid feeling which they experienced from looking continuously at the high blank walls of the neighboring tenement buildings.

There is some evidence of a tendency to develop apartment districts for Negroes. Such a district is already beginning to take shape on Georgia Avenue, where there is a chain of newly erected buildings. The small two-story, four-family apartment house, which is becoming a rather prevalent type of dwelling for Negroes, does not disturb, to any great extent, the outlook and attractiveness of communities of private homes. Although there is this natural tendency to locate the larger apartments in or near commercial zones, there are certain limitations which these districts place upon the life of these apartments. For it is almost needless to state that the more highly cultured people do not prefer to live on trans-

TABLE XIX
Occupations of Heads of Families Living in Apartments

Occupation	Number of Cases	Occupation	Number of Cases
Laborer.....	84	Soldier.....	1
Cook.....	8	Students.....	2
Maid.....	4	Machinist.....	1
Janitor.....	6	Dealer.....	1
Laundress.....	2	Caterer.....	1
Domestic.....	32	Stenographer.....	1
Truck Driver.....	3	Mail carrier.....	1
Government employee....	88	Newspaper reporter....	1
Navy yard employee....	2	Store.....	1
Barber.....	8	Engineer.....	3
Hairdresser.....	7	Butler.....	2
Tailor.....	7	Houseman.....	1
Real estate agents.....	6	Painter.....	1
Business.....	6	Musician.....	1
City employee.....	1	Nurse.....	2
Politician.....	2	Dentist.....	2
Pullman porter.....	14	Plasterer.....	2
Teacher.....	14	Policeman.....	1
Physician.....	7	Insurance inspectors....	2
Insurance collector.....	5	Iceman.....	1
Professor.....	3	Minister.....	1
Waitress.....	1	Retailer.....	1
Waiter.....	11	Chef.....	1
Clerk.....	9	Doorman.....	1
Watchman.....	1	Operator.....	1
Messenger.....	3	Undertaker.....	1
Dressmaker.....	6	Hotel porter.....	11
Chauffeur.....	6	Fireman.....	1
Bellman.....	1	Expressman.....	4
Mechanic.....	6	Lawyer.....	6
Housewife.....	16	Gardener.....	1
Electric Operator.....	1	No report.....	86

portational and trade routes. This fact tends to determine the type of occupants of the apartments which are so situated. For the most part, the occupants of these apartments in the commercial zones are Bohemians—persons who are socially emancipated, and who are, therefore, not in the class of the most responsible citizens. This is true only of the group in general, and does not apply to many individuals or specific families.

There are a great many small flats over stores and other business establishments in the trade districts of the city—the non-family areas—which are occupied by inhabitants who constitute a sort of interstitial group in the life of the city. These flats may be designated as the “kitchenette apartments.” They house few children, and the relations of their adult occupants to the neighborhood are very casual and inconsequential.

Coöperative Ownership.—The coöperative apartment movement is now being tried out as a real estate experiment among Negroes in Washington. Thus far, it has been fairly successful but the movement has not yet got well under way.

The coöperative apartments are those which are owned by the tenant. The tenant-purchaser makes his payments in monthly installments, in the same manner as the renter. And when the payments are completed he becomes the tenant-owner of the particular apartment which he has selected. The builders are under moral obligation, if not under legal contract, to consult the already tenant-owners when planning to sell other apartments in the building. This insures the character and standing of the tenants.

The monthly payments include maintenance and interest and payment on principal, and amount to little more than normal rents. Real estate companies that are fostering this project contend that coöperative ownership results in savings to the tenant-owners, because of the several important items of expense incident to the operation of apartment prop-

erties which involve rentals. One of these is *vacancies*. In fixing rents for the rented apartments, allowance has to be made to cover possible vacancies. The coöperative apartment is also free from the expense of advertising, brokerage, and redecoration which must precede every new tenant in high class apartments—more as a matter of taste than as a necessity. With one hundred per cent coöperative ownership, there are no vacancies, no expenses of renting, and only the redecoration which are desired by the tenant-owner.

The inducing factors which argue strongly for coöperative ownership are permanency of tenure and the combining of conveniences of apartment dwelling with the satisfaction of ownership.

Some of the persons consulted, regarding their attitudes toward this new real estate project, thought the plan was a good one, but others were doubtful as to whether it would work so well among Negroes, on account of the great difficulties of controlling the character of the tenant-owners. A teacher stated that the principal objection which he had was that one's property is an inseparable part of a general tenement house; that, as for himself, he wanted something he could stand off from, look at from all sides, and say "that's mine."

HOTELS

Washington has only one large hotel for Negroes—the Whitelaw—situated at the corner of Thirteenth and T Streets, N. W. One wing of the building comprises the Whitelaw Apartments, while the other is used for quartering transients. This is the only building in the city designed for Negro patronage that is worthy of the name *hotel*. Other little establishments are too small to house more than a very small number of people. They cater to the lower cultural and economic classes of Negroes. These few hotels help to meet the housing needs of a highly transient element of the population.

The Whitelaw Hotel is an imposing structure—at least from the outside. It is the “embassy” of the out of town visitor. It does not, however, furnish to its guests the comforts that are afforded by Negro hotels in certain other cities. This hotel’s total house count for the year 1927 per day showed a fluctuation of from 30 on the dullest days to 300 on special occasions.

Many of the permanent residents of the city stated that they preferred hotels as places of habitation and would readily move into a first class family hotel if the city only afforded one. References were made to the phases of hotel life that render it attractive: anonymity, impersonality, freedom from community responsibility, opportunities to violate the mores and live a more or less unconventional and independent life. Some of the others who were craving hotel life inferred that they desired a less exacting environment—a social environment that would not emphasize the moral aspects of one’s personality so much as it would superficial ostentatiousness.

In the hotel *milieu*, there is little searching into life and family histories. One is generally accepted on his face value. Hence, there is a great deal of four-flushing, displaying of “front,” and “skating on thin ice.” There are, of course, the usual exceptions.

The people whom the hotels house are largely birds-of-passage, who are free from social responsibility. They belong in the same or similar class with the lodgers who dwell in the furnished rooms of other people’s homes.

There is in Washington a large group of people who have no permanent ties or home connections. This has resulted in a great social strain upon the life of Negro communities. As a substitute for the home satisfactions which these detached persons are unable to enjoy, intense forms of social stimulation are often sought. The cabaret, dance hall, pool-room, or house of ill-repute often fill the parts of life left empty by the lack of genuine home satisfactions. For the

habitat of the lodger and hotel dweller is mainly a sleeping place.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Summary

I. The Origin and Natural History of the Negro Housing Problem in Washington, D. C.

The problems which have been connected with the Negro population in Washington have been numerous and of a varied nature. But none have attracted as much public attention as have those of housing. At one time Washington had what was probably the most serious Negro housing problem of all the American cities. It was the result of startling increases of the Negro population after the Civil War. Negroes were led to believe that the seat of emancipation was necessarily a haven for the emancipated. Washington became, therefore, the "bosom" in which thousands of Negroes, newly freed, sought refuge. The Negro population kept swelling, but houses were not available. The result was a terrible housing famine. The squalor in which Negroes were obliged to live was indescribable. Many were compelled to sleep out doors under the trees. The problem was grave. Charitable and philanthropic agencies, under wise leadership, attacked the problem and brought temporary relief. But it was necessary that more general assistance be rendered than that which philanthropic agencies were capable of affording. The situation called for the floating of some new real estate project. This found expression in the so-called "Alley System," made possible by the original plan of the city. Washington was provided with deep back yards attached to practically every home. These were cut in two and the back portions sold as separate building lots. It was in this way that the alley houses came into existence, being first erected about 1867. In 1897 there were 333 alleys that

were inhabited by approximately 19,000 people—more than three-fourths of whom were Negroes. This Alley System of dwellings has been in existence in Washington for more than sixty years. These localities have been the natural habitats of a certain element of the Negro population, and are historically significant in representing the initial adjustments of Negroes to the City of Washington. For many years they played a significant rôle in its ecological organization, but this significance is now largely outworn. Today the alleys are only vestiges of a previous necessity—"eyesores," grim reminders of what were once the symbols of typical Negro life in the National Capital.

The secluded nature of the inhabited alleys has from the very beginning made them the source of serious social problems—problems of health, poverty and criminality. Hence, as early as 1872 attacks were made on the alleys and the life which they were fostering by the Board of Health. Other agencies then took up the work of amelioration, Congress legislated against them, newspapers and churches have carried on publicity campaigns against them, but they still remain, some of them in practically the same conditions that they were in many years ago, though the worst houses have been demolished by the Board for Condemnation of Insanitary Dwellings. The death blow is yet to be struck. There are at present between ten and twelve thousand people living in the alleys—in houses, many of which are so dilapidated and filthy that they are unfit for even animals to occupy. The alley death rate is still high, and over one half of the children born in these localities are illegitimate. Moreover, a large percentage of the crime can be traced back to them. The decisive step in the elimination of the alleys must be that of legislative coercion.

II. The Negro Population in the Ecological Organization of the City of Washington.

Washington differs from most cities in that the Negro population is not huddled into one specific geographical area. It is rather loosely and irregularly scattered throughout the various districts of the city. Where Negroes are not inside of white communities, they are so close up to them, that it is difficult in many cases to discover rigid boundaries between Negro and white residential sections. Although there are many streets on which Negroes and white people are intermingled, they still maintain certain residential distances. In many instances, white people were found occupying one side of the street and colored people the other.

Negro neighborhoods have their positions fixed or determined largely by the attitudes of the various elements of the white population. The rapid increases of the Negro population have necessitated repeated expansions into neighboring white areas. Two types of expansion were recognized in this study—"vicinal" and "peripheral." The former type involves expansion into the adjacent areas; the latter is an overflow which spreads to the remote outlying sections—the "fringe" of the city.

Certain factors determine the directions of the expansion of the Negro population. These are land values, transportation routes, and the infusions of trade and industry.

Naturally, the Negro has encountered hostile attitudes on the part of white people, which have at times crystallized into corporate action against him. But it is interesting to note that in the majority of instances white people have given way to Negro invasions with little or no struggle to retain their homes. The conflicts have been more conspicuous than they have been frequent. At times, however, feeling has become very intense, but has not eventuated in programs of bombing or incendiarism. The "Covenant" has been widely employed, but it has generally defeated its own purpose.

Seldom has it been possible to secure the signatures of all the residents of a white block, and, as a result, Negroes establish residence here and there on the street and make it very unpleasant for the white people who have signed away their right of sale to Negroes. What is worse, the Covenant usually states that the owners can neither rent nor give their houses to Negroes.

The principal objections to living in communities and neighborhoods with Negroes were found to be motives arising from fundamental human nature. Fear of public opinion, however, appears to be the most prevalent reason.

III. The Negro Community.

The various Negro communities in Washington may be regarded as "natural areas," because they are the products of certain natural forces and processes, such as competition, racial differentiation, prejudice, and so forth.

Many of these communities are closely associated with the trade or commercial areas of the city. This was found to be in some ways very advantageous to many Negroes, because it brings them into close contact with the intense forms of life.

The Negro communities were also found to be valuable avenues through which the personality of the individual Negro is able to gain expression.

Many of the older communities, such as those in Georgetown and Southwest Washington are passing through a very definite process of deterioration. Northwest Washington contains many new communities, characterized by strong sentiments and interests.

IV. Physical Characteristics of Houses Occupied by Negroes.

Negroes in Washington are supplied with two types of homes: those which construction and real estate companies

have built especially for them, and those which have been taken over from white people. The latter constitute by far the better grade of houses. The new houses which are built especially for Negroes are usually of poor material and workmanship. But, because of their newness and modernity they possess powerful attraction, and sell usually as fast as they can be completed. Their purchase prices are usually exorbitant. Real estate dealers offer in defense the argument that selling property to Negroes is a much greater financial risk than selling property to white people. But careful investigation destroyed the basis of this argument, and showed clear evidences of some exploitation.

The majority of the homes which are occupied by Negroes are attached houses. The few that are detached have usually been purchased from white people. Some of the Negro homes are very excellently appointed. But there are many that are in a very dilapidated and insanitary condition. Five grades of houses were discovered in this survey—types A, B, C, D and E. The typical Negro home falls in Class C. It is ordinarily a six-room house, well appointed, and modernly furnished. The majority of the houses in Classes A, B and C are owned. Whereas, most of those in Classes D and E are rented. The A and B types of houses are confined chiefly to the northwest section of the city.

V. The Organization of the Negro Home.

The average Negro home in Washington is not seriously congested. The most frequent number of persons per house was found to be four. About one-fourth of the homes appear to be keeping lodgers, many of whom are females. The keeping of lodgers was not always found to be the result of the economic necessity of securing enough money to meet the rentals or payments on the home. It appears to be related primarily to the desire for luxury.

The study of the occupational status of the heads of homes,

shows a wide variety of forms of Negro employment. The professional classes of course occupy the finest homes. The "Sundown Occupation" was found to be an important factor in determining the economic status of the family, as was also the employment of the female members of the family.

Regarding recreational facilities, nearly every Negro home was found to be equipped with some kind of musical instrument. 32.3 per cent were equipped with radios, but 20.5 per cent of the families studied were taking no newspapers, and 51.4 per cent had no magazines.

VI. Home Ownership and Tenancy

Negroes are usually forced to buy homes, if they wish to live in desirable communities. Most of the newly constructed houses are being bought instead of rented. The average home which is purchased by Negroes is priced at \$7,500, but a few are priced as high as \$25,000. Many Negroes were found to have purchased their homes with cash payments of from \$7,000 to \$10,000. The fact that 46.5 per cent of the homes studied were owned shows that the Negro population in Washington has a good rating in relation to property ownership.

Few of the homes in Southwest Washington are owned by their occupants. Renters and owners in Washington were found to be so distributed ecologically that reference could be made to "communities of owners" and "communities of renters,"—the latter being usually inferior to the former.

The most frequent rentals were found to fall somewhere between twenty and twenty-five dollars. Few cases of abnormal rentals were found. There were several cases noted where owners were charging normal rentals when the houses were in dilapidated conditions and did not merit the rental that would be charged under normal conditions. A great many cases were also found where the owner had increased the rental by five or ten dollars for some very minor repairs.

VII. Apartment Houses and Hotels

The apartment building is an innovation in Negro life in Washington. The apartment movement did not really begin until about 1925. Several buildings have been erected for Negroes, but the majority of them have been taken over from white people. The apartment house is usually the last stronghold of white residency to pass over to Negroes.

Apartment districts are now beginning to appear—situated close to commercial zones. The apartment house is fostering a new type of life for Negroes—a life that is controlled by a new type of mores.

Washington has only one hotel that is worthy of the name. The life of hotels and apartments possesses attraction, because it affords new experience and relative anonymity.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the facts herein, it is recommended:

(1) *To the Congress of the United States*; that it enact such legislation as will eliminate the inhabited alleys of Washington, turning the larger ones into minor streets and parking spaces, and demolishing the houses in smaller ones, except, perhaps, in those rare cases where such houses are well built and occupied by employes of an adjoining residence facing the street. In this connection, the original "alley bill" proposed to Congress in 1914 by a committee of citizens, might well be taken as a basis, merely adjusting it to meet the change in conditions during the past fifteen years. This bill was far more drastic than the one actually passed by Congress, which is reproduced in the Appendix.

The Congress should also be asked to enact legislation which will provide for a more adequate Health Department in the District of Columbia, as recently recommended by the United States Public Health Service and the Bureau of Efficiency in their reports to the District Commissioners. This should result ultimately in the creation in this Department of a Housing Bureau.

(2) *To the Interracial Committee*; that the Interracial Committee arrange with the Washington Council of Social Agencies to appoint a "Standing Committee on Negro Housing." Among the duties of such a Committee would be to devise ways and means of preventing the

exploitation of Negro home buyers and renters, the interesting of suitable agencies in the building of model Negro homes, and the acting as an advisory agency to prospective Negro tenants or purchasers much as a Legal Aid Society acts as the attorney or adviser of poor clients.

(3) *To the Real Estate Board and to white real estates dealers;* that they recognize fully the difficulties which Negroes have in securing houses with modern equipment at reasonable prices, and that therefore in so far as it is possible they grant them the same just consideration that they grant white people. That rents be not advanced because Negroes become tenants.

(4) *To renters of property, white and colored;* that houses which are being rented to Negroes be kept in good repair, when normal rentals are charged.

(5) *To white builders for Negroes;* that a superior grade of material and workmanship be used for the new houses that are constructed. These homes were found to be almost invariably too cheaply constructed to merit the prices which are charged for them. Within a few weeks after completion the walls and ceilings of many of these houses have cracked, the wall paper has faded, and the fixtures have become tarnished.

(6) *To the white public;* that it seek through its opinion-creating agencies to discourage violence and lawless practices in dealing with Negro invasions into their communities. It is true that such invasions usually work temporary hardship on white people, but they usually acquire newer and better homes as a final result, and Negroes also improve thereby their living conditions. Such expansions are generally the natural sequel to the growth of the city and in such cases should be accepted as tolerantly as possible.

(7) *To the Negro public;* that it encourage Negroes through its civic, social, and religious agencies to secure modern sanitary homes, and emphasize especially the value of home ownership. It should also encourage them to recognize the interests of white people and to use good judgment about securing homes in their communities.

(8) *To the social agencies and fact-collecting bureaus of the District of Columbia;* that they consider the possibility of compiling their statistical data for the various areas and sections of the city instead of merely for the city as a whole. This would greatly facilitate the determining of the focal points of such conditions as criminality, desertion, poverty, sickness, and so forth. At the present time, few of the local agencies and bureaus are able to indicate from their statistics the geographical distribution of various social conditions within the city.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Census of the United States: *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915.*

Discontinuance of Alley Dwellings in the District of Columbia. Hearings before the Committee on the District of Columbia. U. S. Senate, 67th Congress.

Directory of Alleys in Washington, D. C. Compiled by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones.

Facilities for Children's Play in the District of Columbia. U. S. Children's Bureau, Publication.

Senate Documents of the Sixty-third Congress, 1914.

Police Census of the District of Columbia, 1905-1925.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society. Vols. I to XXVI, published by the Society.

Persons Owning and Renting Houses or Rooms in the so-called "Inhabited Alleys" in the District of Columbia.

Records of the Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Dwellings.

Records of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia.

Report of the President's Homes Commission, Washington, 1908.

Report of the Rent Commission of the District of Columbia, 1925.

Bicknell, Grace Vawter. *Inhabited Alleys of Washington, D. C.* (pamphlet) Washington, 1912.

Jones, William H., *Recreation and Amusement among Negroes in Washington, D. C.* Washington, 1927.

Kober, George M. *The History of the Housing Movement in the City of Washington, D. C.* Washington, 1907.

Graffenried, Clare D. *Typical Alley Houses in Washington, D. C.* Bulletin No. 7. The Women's Anthropological Society. Washington, 1897.

Tindall, William. *History of the City of Washington. From a Study of the Original Sources.* Knoxville, Tenn. 1914.

Warden, David Baillie. *Chronological and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia.* Paris, 1816.

Weller, Charles Frederick. *Neglected Neighbors: Stories of Life in the Alleys, Tenements and Shanties.* Philadelphia, 1909.

The Negro in Chicago. Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Chicago, 1922.

The Washingtonia collection—Clippings on "Alleys" and "Slums."

"Alley Park's Cost," *Evening Star*, September 14, 1910.

"Civic Awakening at Washington." By M. West. *Review of Reviews*, 31:309.

"Exit Alley Slums," *Evening Star*, September 27, 1910.

"Health of Washington," by George M. Kober. *Charities and the Commons*, 15:802.

"Housing Conditions in Washington." *Charities*, 12:161-6, February 6, 1904.

"Housing Conditions in Washington." By G. M. Sternberg. *Charities* 12:762-4; July 23, 1904.

"Must Clean Up Slums;" Washington Problem as Seen by a New York Paper. *Washington Post*, April 18, 1909.

"Needs of the National Capital." By H. B. F. MacFarland. *Outlook* 83:518.

"Next Door to Congress." *Charities*, March 3, 1906.

"Poverty; Slums at Nation's Capital." By Potomacus. *National Socialist*, May 4, 1912.

"Social Palliatives for Slum Conditions." By Potomacus. *National Socialist*, May 18, 1912.

"Washington, An Example." By Theodore Roosevelt. *Charities and the Commons*, 15:760.

"Work in the Alleys," *Evening Star*, July 25, 1909.

"Washington's Slums, A National Disgrace." By Potomacus. *National Socialist*, May 11, 1912.

"Talk City Planning; Washington's Slums Criticised by Conference Speakers." *Evening Star*, May 22, 1909.

"Standard of Living at Washington," *Survey*, 39:68-9, October 20, 1917.

Zoning Regulations of the District of Columbia, 1920.

Building Code of the District of Columbia. Sections I-VII.

Private letters and records of Mrs. Archibald Hopkins.

APPENDIX

DIRECTORY OF THE INHABITED ALLEYS OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

The 1927 inventory of inhabited alleys is the result of the author's personal count of the houses found in the alleys of Northwest and Southwest Washington. The reader will notice that certain alleys which were in existence in 1912 have now disappeared entirely, but most of them still exist with conditions similar to those of 15 years ago.

Name of Alley	Boundary of Alley Block	Block No.	Number Houses	
			1912	1927
Acorn Alley, S.W.	4½, 6, C & Md. Ave.	492	7	2
Adams Exp. Alley, N.W.	2d, 3d, B and C.	11	5	2
Alexander Court, N.W.	20th, 21st, K & L.	76	23	18
Allen Court, S.W.	3d, 4½, L and M.	544	16	10
Ambush Court, S.W.	6th, 7th, K & L.	471	4	0
Arlington Court, S.W.	7th, 8th, H & I.	439	2	2
Armory Place, S.W.	3d, 4½, Me. & Md. Avs.	C	22	22
Baar Alley, N.W.	P, Q, 5th & N.J. Ave.	510	5	5
B-and-a-Half St. Alley S.W.	2d, 3d, C and Canal.	577	22	22
Bacons Alley, S.W.	4th, 6th, E and F.	495	2	0
Balls Court, N.W.	2d, 3d, G & Mass.	564	23	18
Baltimore Court, N.W.	1st, 3rd, N & O.	554	20	0
Bank Alley, N.W.	33, 34, M & Prospect.	1205	7	7
Baptist Alley, N.W.	9, 10, E and F.	377	4	0
Bates Alley, N.W.	6, 7, G and H.	454	5	0
Bells Court, N.W.	33, 34, P & Volta.	1254	10	10
Bellevue Court, N.W.	Ga. Warder Aves. Morton and Kenyon Sts.	3040	8	0
Bells Alley, N.W.	19, 20, G & H.	120	2	0
Bissells Alley, N.W.	22, 23, G & H.	56	4	4
Blagdens Alley, N.W.	9th, 10th, M & N.	368	46	16
Bland's Court, N.W.	3rd, 4th, W & V.	3070	10	10
Bland's Court, N.W.	4th, 5th, W & V.	3072	15	7
Blundon's Alley, N.W.	Wis. Ave. 33, O & P.	1244	2	0
Brainard Alley, N.W.	17th, 18th, Mass. Ave & P.	157	5	0
Broad Alley, S.W.	3d, 4½, F and G.	539	17	13
Brooks Court, N.W.	1st, 3d, O and P.	553	26	20
Brothers Alley, S.W.	9th, 10th, Va. Ave. & B.	383	1	0
Brown's Court, N.W.	4th, 5th, M and N.Y. Ave.	514	7	5

Name of Alley	Boundary of Alley Block	Block No.	Number Houses	
			1912	1927
Brown's Court, S.W.....	1st, 2d, F and G.....	586	14	12
Builder's Ex. Court N.W.....	12th, 13th, G & H.....	288	5	5
Burden's Court, N.W.....	1st, N.J. Ave. Pierce & M.....	557	10	9
Burke's Alley, S.W.....	6th, 7th, G and H.....	468	15	11
Canterbury Alley, N.W.....	4½, 6th, C and La. Ave.....	490	4	1
Capitol Court, S.W.....	1st, Dela. Ave. B & C.....	635	14	17
Car Stable Alley, N.W.....	Wis. Ave. Pot. M & Grace.....	1200	1	0
Carlin's Alley, S.W.....	12th, 13th, C & D.....	297	9	9
Carter's Alley, N.W.....	Conn. Ave, 18th, K & L.....	163	2	0
Casey's Alley, S.W.....	4½, 6th, K and L.....	500	6	7
Caton's Alley, N.W.....	31st, Wis. Ave., Q and R.....	1280	3	3
Caton's Alley, N.W.....	33d, Pot. Grace & M.....	1186	9	9
Cecil Alley, N.W.....	Wis. Ave. Pot, Water & Grace..	1188	25	27
Cedar Court, N.W.....	13th, 14th, S and T.....	238	31	16
Census Alley, N.W.....	3d, 4th, G & H.....	529	4	4
Chester Court, N.W.....	13th, 14th, V & W.....	235	49	7
Chews Alley, N.W.....	1st, 2d, E and F.....	569	15	13
Christian Alley, S.W.....	½, 1st, F and G.....	642	2	2
Clark's Alley, S.W.....	3d, Dela. Ave. L and M.....	594	10	10
Clark Alley, S.W.....	4½, 6, M and N.....	502	44	30
Clark Alley, S.W.....	3d, 4½, D and Va. Ave.....	536	3	0
Clark's Court, S.W.....	3d, 4½, C and D.....	535	19	19
Clifton Place, N.W.....	18th, Conn. Ave. L & M.....	161	3	0
Constitution Alley, N.W.....	18th, 19th, K and L.....	107	5	4
Cook Alley, N.W.....	15th, 16th, K and L.....	198	2	2
Cooksey Place, N.W.....	1st, 3d, Q and R.....	551	66	49
Covington St., N.W.....	9th, 10th, R & R.I. Ave.....	364	24	25
Cow Alley, S.W.....	4½, 6th, I and K.....	499	2	2
Cox Alley, N.W.....	6th, 7th, D and E.....	457	6	0
Cullinanes, S.W.....	4½, 6th, H and I.....	498	24	20
Daley's Court, N.W.....	21st, 22nd, G and H.....	79	7	0
Davies Alley, N.W.....	21st, 22d, H and I.....	77	5	0
Davis Alley, N.W.....	12th, 13th, You and V.....	273	4	4
Davis Court, N.W.....	11th, 12th, W and Fla. Ave.....	302	3	3
Decatur Court, N.W.....	1st, N. Cap., O and P.....	616	6	0
Desmond Alley, S.W.....	9th, 10th, E and F.....	388	13	13
Dingman Place, N.W.....	N. Cap., N.J., Ave. E & F.....	628	22	19
Dinsmore Court, S.W.....	2d, 3d, G and H.....	587	6	6
Dixon's Court, S.W.....	3d, 4½, H and I.....	541	44	44
Douglas Alley, N.W.....	4th, 5th, H and G.....	518	10	2
Draper's Court, S.W.....	12th, 13th, B and C.....	296	9	2
Dudley Place, S.W.....	1st, 2d, B and Md. Ave.....	576	7	7
Durr's Court, N.W.....	10th, 11th, M and N.....	340	1	1
Dyer's Alley, N.W.....	33d, 34th, M & C & O Canal...	1184	8	8
Essex Court, N.W.....	6th, 7th, H and I.....	453	21	4
Fenton Place, N.W.....	1st, N. Capitol, K & L.....	621	62	55
Fitzgerald Alley, N.W.....	1st, N. Cap. & Mass. Ave.....	625	5	1

Name of Alley	Boundary of Alley Block	Block No.	Number Houses	
			1912	1927
Fitzsmorris Alley N.W.....	8th, 9th, Fla. Ave. & Barry Pl..	2875	5	5
Fletcher Hill, N.W.....	24th, 25th, E and F.....	33	3	3
Force Alley, N.W.....	17th, 18th, N & Mass. Ave.....	158	1	0
Foundry Alley, N.W.....	13th, 14th, G & N.Y. Ave.....	252	9	0
Freeman's Place, N.W.....	6th, 7th, N and O.....	447	24	15
Fussell's Court, N.W.....	25th, 26th, M & Pa. Ave.....	14	9	0
Gallagher's Court, N.W.....	25th, 26th, H and I.....	17	3	0
Garrett's Alley, N.W.....	34th, 35th, N & Prospect.....	1221	2	2
Glick Alley, N.W.....	6th, 7th, S and R.I. Ave.....	442	42	31
Goat Alley, N.W.....	6th, 7th, L and M.....	449	46	17
Gould's Court, N.W.....	2d, 3d, F and G.....	566	4	2
Government Alley, N.W.....	20th, 21st, L and M.....	100	27	10
Green's Court, N.W.....	26th, 27th, I and K.....	5	12	10
Green's Alley, N.W.....	20th, 21st, Va. & N.Y. Aves....	104	2	2
Green's Court, N.W.....	13th, 14th, L and Mass. Ave.....	247	17	7
Grimmell Alley, N.W.....	16th, 17th, K and L.....	184	4	0
H St. Alley, S.W.....	2d, 3d, H and I.....	589	5	0
Haines Court, N.W.....	3d, 4th, I and K.....	527	2	1
Half St. Court, N.W.....	1st, N. Cap. M & Pierce.....	620	12	12
Hammersley Court, S.W.....	7th, 8th, D and E.....	435	5	3
Hamover Alley, N.W.....	1st, N. Cap. N and O.....	627	33	0
Hays Court, N.W.....	17th, 18th, D and E.....	172	20	0
Herbert's Alley, N.W.....	3d, 4th, Trumball & Bryant....	3069	10	10
Hog Alley, N.W.....	6th, 7th, I and Mass. Ave.....	452	2	0
Hogan Alley, S.W.....	4½, 6th, F and G.....	496	1	0
Hopkins Pl. or Alley N.W.....	19th, 20th, R and S.....	110	3	0
Horns Court, N.W.....	2d, N.J. Ave. F & G.....	567	11	11
Horrigans Alley, N.W.....	25th, 26th, O and P.....	1263	2	0
Howard Court, N.W.....	2d, 3d, V and Oakdale Pl.....	3082	1	0
Hughes Court, N.W.....	25th, 26th, I and K.....	16	25	15
Huntoon Court, S.W.....	4½, 6th, N and O.....	503	28	24
Hutchin's Court, N.W.....	16th, 17th, Mass. Ave. and O....	181	3	3
Hutton's Court, N.W.....	10th, Vt. Ave., U and V.....	359	7	0
Jackson Alley, N.W.....	1st, N. Cap. G and H.....	624	16	10
Johnson Court, N.W.....	21st, 22nd, K and Pa. Ave.....	74	6	6
Johnson's Court, N.W.....	Mass. N.J. Ave., F and G.....	626	1	2
K St. Alley, N.W.....	19th, 20th, I and K.....	86	2	0
K St. Alley, S.W.....	6th, 7th, I and K.....	470	11	8
King's Court, N.W.....	26th, 27th, K and L.....	4	14	10
King's Court, N.W.....	4th, 5th, N and O.....	512	19	19
Knox Alley, S.W.....	3d, 4½, E and F.....	538	8	8
LeDroit Alley, N.W.....	6th, 7th, S and T.....	441	20	13
Lee's Court, N.W.....	19th, 20th, K and L.....	85	8	8
Leonard Court, S.W.....	2d, Del. Ave., G & H.....	588	6	4
Liberty St., N.W.....	13th, 14th, W and Fla. Ave.....	234	17	5
Limerick Court, S.W.....	2d, 3d, D and Va. Ave.....	581	16	6
Linger's Court, N.W.....	19th, 20th, L and M.....	117	30	18

Name of Alley	Boundary of Alley Block	Block No.	Number Houses	
			1912	1927
Locust Court, S.W.	4½, 6th, L & M.	501	13	0
Logan Court, N.W.	1st, N. Cap, Pierce & L.	620	32	32
Losekam Alley, N.W.	13th, 14th, F and G.	253	2	0
Louse Home Alley, N.W.	15, 16, M and Mass. Ave.	196	5	0
McCullough St., N.W.	N. Cap. N.J. Ave. E & F.	628	12	12
Madison Alley, N.W.	1st, 2d, E and F.	569	18	15
Madison Alley, N.W.	6th, 7th, M and N.	448	17	17
Magruder Alley, N.W.	17th, 18th, I and K.	126	2	2
Marble Hall Alley, N.W.	4½, 6th, Pa. & Mo. Aves.	B	4	0
Marion Court, N.W.	7th, Marion, P and Q.	445	8	5
Masonic Hall Alley, N. W.	Wis. Av., Pot. M & Prospect.	1207	3	0
Miller's Court, S.W.	6th, 7th, B and Md. Ave.	462	2	0
Monument Alley, S.W.	14th, 15th, B and C.	231	4	0
Nailor's Alley, N.W.	9th, 10th, N and O.	367	11	2
Naylor's Alley, N.W.	4th, 5th, K and L.	515	24	16
Nine-and-a-half St. Alley, N.W.	10th, 11th, T and U.	361	11	11
Nolan's Court, S.W.	½, 1st, M & N.	650	41	MS
Oak Alley, N.W.	31st, Wis. Ave. M & N.	1208	8	9
O'Briens Court, N.W.	20th, 21st, E and F.	104	39	0
O'Neil's Court, S.W.	2d, 3d, F and G.	585	15	8
Page Alley, S. W.	6th, 7th, F and G.	467	3	2
Painter Alley, N.W.	9th, 10th, H and I.	374	1	0
Park Row, S.W.	13½, 14th, C and D.	265	6	0
Parker Row, S.W.	1st, Dela. Ave. K and L.	593	1	1
Phillips Court, N.W.	24th, 25th, M and N.	24	21	21
Pierce Court, S.W.	½, 1st, N and O.	652	25	0
Pierce St. Court, N.W.	1st, N.J. Ave. L & Pierce.	557	19	19
Pig Alley, S.W.	6th, 7th, H and I.	469	17	11
Pleasant Alley, S.W.	3d, 4th, G and H.	540	19	10
Pomeroy Court, N.W.	6th, Ga. Ave. W & Trumbull.	3065	8	8
Poplar Alley, N.W.	27th, 28th, O & P.	1261	12	12
Porksteak Alley, S.W.	9th, 10th, F and G.	389	7	3
Prather's Alley, N.W.	4th, 5th, I and K.	516	19	7
Purdy's Court, N.W.	1st, 2d, B and Pa. Ave.	575	13	3
Quaker Alley, N.W.	12th, 13th, R and S.	276	12	1
Queen's Alley, N.W.	18th, 19th, L and M.	140	16	4
Quinn's Court, S.W.	2d, 3d, C and D.	579	3	2
Reed's Alley, N.W.	27th, 28th, I, K & Va. Ave.	1	1	0
Ricketts Court, N.W.	23d, 24th, E and F.	44	11	6
Ridge St. Court, N.W.	4th, 5th, N and Ridge.	513	7	19
Riley's Alley, S.W.	Union, 6th, N and O.	503	2	0
Riley's Court, S.W.	10th, 11th, F and G.	355	4	3
Rock Court, N.W.	27th, 28th, N and Olive.	1215	14	0
Rover's Court, N.W.	1st, N.J. Ave. K and L.	559	19	16
St. Dominick Alley, S.W.	6th, 7th, E and F.	466	2	1
St. Mary's Court, N.W.	23d, 24th, G and H.	42	8	8
St. Matthew's Court, N.W.	17th, 18th, R.I. Ave. & N.	159	4	4

Name of Alley	Boundary of Alley Block	Block No.	Number Houses	
			1912	1927
St. Paul Court, N.W.....	22d, 23d, I and Pa. Ave.....	54	8	0
Seaton Court, N.W.....	2d, 3d, H and I.....	562	6	10
Shepherd Alley, N.W.....	9th, 10th, L and M.....	369	10	9
Sheriff's Alley, N.W.....	2d, 3d, E and F.....	568	4	1
Slater Alley, N.W.....	12th, 13th, E and F.....	290	4	4
Smithson Court, S.W.....	4½, 6th, G and H.....	497	7	6
Snows Court, N.W.....	24th, 25th, I and K.....	28	47	42
Stanton Alley, N.W.....	23d, 24th, L and M.....	37	7	4
Stevens Court, N.W.....	21st, 22d, K and L.....	73	24	21
Sullivan's Court, S.W.....	2d, 3d, E and F.....	583	8	7
Summer Alley, N.W.....	16th, 17th, L and M.....	183	20	—
Syphax Court, S.W.....	3d, 4½, K and L.....	543	3	5
Temperance Ave. N.W.....	12th, 13th, T and You.....	274	34	29
Temperance Hall Al. N.W.....	9th, 10th, D and E.....	378	6	0
Temple Court, S.W.....	1st, Del. Ave., D & E.....	638	14	14
Thomas Alley, N.W.....	30th, 31st, M and N.....	1209	3	3
Union Alley, N.W.....	1st, 2nd, D and E.....	571	16	3
Union Court, N.W.....	10, Vt. Ave. Fla. Av. & W.....	358	10	8
Union Court, N.W.....	15, 16, L and M.....	197	22	10
Valley St. N.W.....	12, 13, S and T.....	275	13	13
Van Alley, S.W.....	3d, 4½, M and N.....	545	28	14
Vermont Court, N.W.....	15, Vermont Ave. L & M.....	214	11	0
Vincent Court, N.W.....	12, 13, N and O.....	280	6	0
Warner Alley, N.W.....	21st, 22nd, O and P.....	68	1	1
Warner Court, N.W.....	21st, 22nd, Mass. Ave. and P...	67	1	1
Waverly Terrace, N.W.....	14th, 15th, T and You.....	205	9	6
Wilcox Alley, N.W.....	22nd, 23rd, E and Va. Ave.	59	3	3
Willow Tree Alley, S.W.....	3d, 4½, B and C.....	534	60	4
Wylie Court, N.W.....	13, Vt. Ave. M and N.....	245	4	6
Wynn's Court, N.W.....	7th, 8th, R and S.....	419	6	0
Name Unknown, N.W.....	1st, N.J. Ave., I and K.....	561	3	0
Name Unknown, N.W.....	6th and 7th, F and G.....	455	2	0
Name Unknown, N.W.....	10th, 11th, Q and R.....	336	4	2
Name unknown, N.W.....	11th, 12th, Q and R.....	309	2	2
Name unknown, N.W.....	17th, 18th, N.Y. Ave. & F.....	170	2	0
Name unknown, N.W.....	20th, 21st, G & H.....	102	2	2
Name unknown, N.W.....	14th, 15th, H and I.....	220	1	0

THE HOWARD UNIVERSITY HOUSING SURVEY
(*SCHEDULE FOR APARTMENTS*)

Name of the Apartment
Location
Below Level of Street..... Above Level of Street.....
Ownership: White..... Colored.....
Length of Time Occupied By Colored People.....
Number of Apartments in the Building.....
Lighting..... Heating.....
 Number of Rooms in Apartment..... Bedrooms.....
 Number of Persons..... Adults.....
 Children.....
 Amount of Rent Paid

*SCHEDULE FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO HOUSING
IN WASHINGTON, D.C.*

I. EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS

A. Street:

1. Name..... No..... Section.....

B. Yard: Front..... Back.....

1. Material: Sod..... Gravel..... Brick.....

2. Garbage disposal: Garbage can..... Trash Receptacle.....

3. Buildings: Garage..... Coal Shed.....

4. Fences:..... Wooden..... Wire..... Brick.....

5. Flowers and Shrubbery

II. BUILDING

1. Detached..... Semi-detached..... Attached.....

2. Material: Frame..... Brick..... Cement..... Stone.....

3. Stories..... No.....

4. Basement: Size..... Kind..... Ventilation.....

5. Ventilation: No. of Windows.....
 Skylights..... Transoms.....
6. Halls and stairs..... No. of Halls..... Stairs.....
7. Condition of roof..... Ceilings..... Floors.....
8. No. of Entrances
9. Plumbing: Bathroom..... No. of Bathtubs.....
 Toilet..... Condition of Plumbing.....
 Location of Toilets..... Wash Bowls.....
 Kitchen Sinks..... Repairs.....
10. Rooms: Total Number..... Bedrooms.....
 Other Rooms Used for Sleeping.....
 No. of Windows in Bedrooms..... Dining Room.....
 Kitchen
11. Heating: Furnace..... Steam..... Hot Air.....
 Latrobe..... Stove.....
 Hot Water Heater.....
12. Lighting: Gas..... Electric..... Other.....
13. Porches: Front..... Back..... Sleeping.....

III. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION (Demographic Characteristics)

- A. Total Number of Persons in the House.....
- B. Total Number of Adult Males..... Adult Females.....
- C. Total Number of Children.... Male..... Female.....
- D. Lodgers..... Male..... Female.....
- E. Property Owned or Rented?..... W..... C.....
- F. Amount of Rent Paid \$..... Number of Increases Since
 moving in
- G. Assessed Value of Home \$..... Purchase Price \$.....
- H. Owner's Evaluation
- I. New Comers or Old Residents in Washington?.....
- J. Length of residency..... Occupation of head of
 house
- K. Attitudes toward the community: Satisfied or dissatisfied?

IV. MISCELLANEOUS:

A. Telephone..... B. Radio..... C. Automobile.....

D. Newspapers and magazines read

E. Musical instruments

REMARKS:

.....

.....

.....

.....

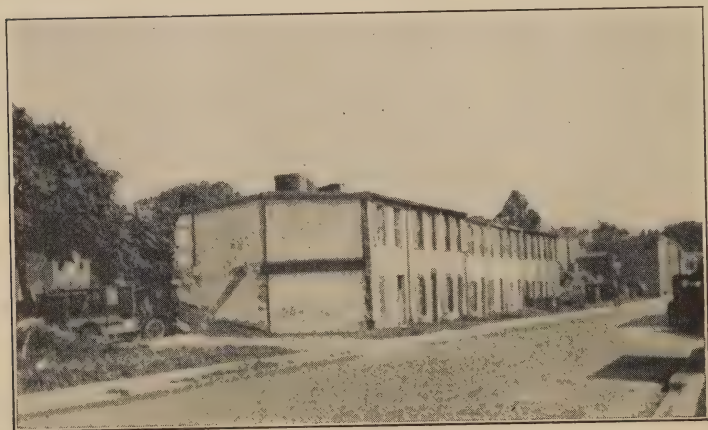
NAMES OF INVESTIGATORS

(Students at Howard University)

Nelka S. Alexander	Edmund F. Plant
Charles W. Brooks	Florida I. Pope
John H. Collins	Booker T. Sirmans
James H. Drummer	Mary F. Sullivan
Joseph R. Edelin	Susie Carlota Tate
Isabella Fairfax	Robert Taylor
Elijah H. Fitchett	William H. Taylor
Edna M. Forrest	Mayme Thompson
Genevieve Goff	Frances E. Thornton
Eva T. Hilton	Frank Trigg
Mollie H. Huston	David A. Tucker
Junius T. Langston	Robbie Eleanor Turner
Genevieve Lomax	James E. Vance
Susan M. Liles	James E. Walker
Cornelius J. Mask	Vera W. Welch
Ulysses E. Neblett	Elijah H. Williams
Nettie M. Nelson	Winston W. Willoughby
Percy E. Newbie	
Nolan A. Owens	Beatrice M. Woods



III. CLASS D HOMES.



IV. CLASS E HOMES.

ALLEY BILL

Much Weaker Than the Original Bill Which Was Submitted

[PUBLIC—No. 202—63D CONGRESS.]

[H. R. 13219.]

An Act To provide, in the interest of public health, comfort, morals, and safety, for the discontinuance of the use as dwellings of buildings situated in the alleys in the district of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful in the District of Columbia to erect, place, or construct any dwelling on any lot or parcel of ground fronting on an alley where such alley is less than thirty feet wide throughout its entire length and which does not run straight to and open on two of the streets bordering the square, and is not supplied with sewer, water mains, and gas or electric light; and in this Act the term "alley" shall include any and all courts, passages, and thoroughfares, whether public or private, and any ground intended for or used as a highway other than the public streets or avenues; and any dwelling house now fronting an alley less than thirty feet wide and not extending straight to the streets and provided with sewer, water main, and light, as aforesaid, which has depreciated or been damaged more than one-half its original value, shall not be repaired or reconstructed as a dwelling or for use as such, and no permit shall be issued for the alteration, repair, or reconstruction of such a building, when the plans indicate any provision for dwelling purposes: *Provided*, That rooms for grooms or stablemen to be employed in the building to be erected, repaired, or reconstructed may be allowed over stables, when the means of exit and safeguards against fire are sufficient, in the opinion of the inspector of buildings, subject to the approval of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia; and no building now or hereafter erected fronting on an alley or on any parcel of ground fronting on an alley less than thirty feet wide and not otherwise in accordance with this Act shall be altered or converted to the uses of a dwelling. Any such alley house depreciated or damaged more than one-half of its original value shall be condemned as provided by law for the removal of dangerous or unsafe buildings and parts thereof, and for other purposes. No dwelling house hereafter erected or placed along any alley and fronting or facing thereon shall in any case be located less than twenty feet back

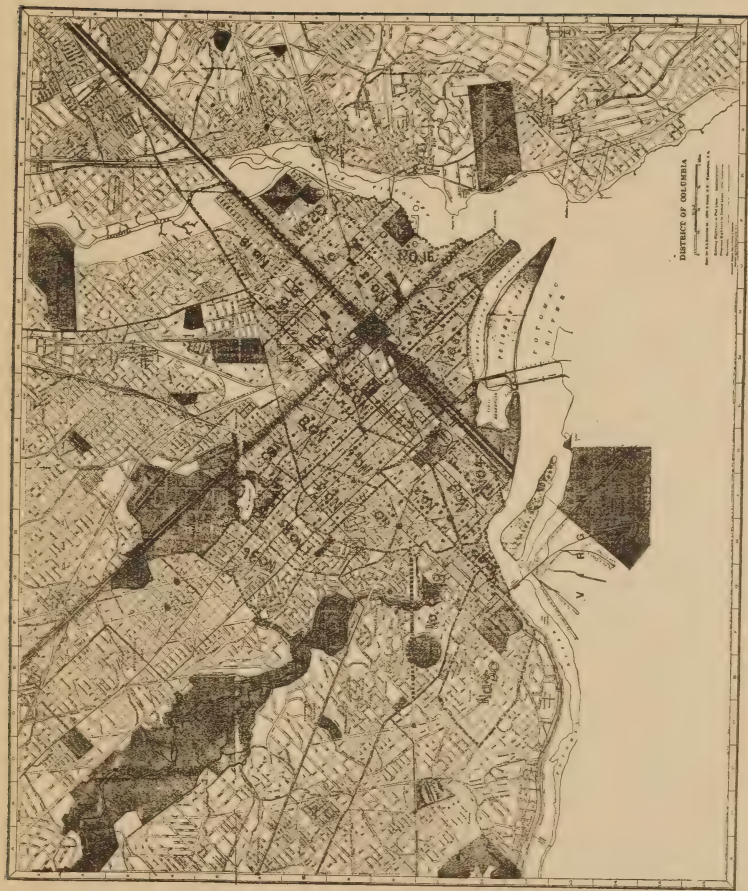
clear of the center line of such alley, so as to give at least a thirty-foot roadway and five feet on each side of such roadway clear for a walk or footway, and any stable or other building hereafter placed, located, altered, or erected on or along such an alley upon which a dwelling faces or fronts shall be set back clear of the walk or footway the same as the dwelling or dwellings, but the fact that dwellings are located in such alleys shall not affect the location of stables or other buildings otherwise.

The use or occupation of any building or other structure erected or placed on or along any such alley as a dwelling or residence or place of abode by any person or persons is hereby declared injurious to life, to public health, morals, safety, and welfare of said District; and such use or occupation of any such building or other structure on, from, and after the first day of July, nineteen hundred and eighteen, shall be unlawful.

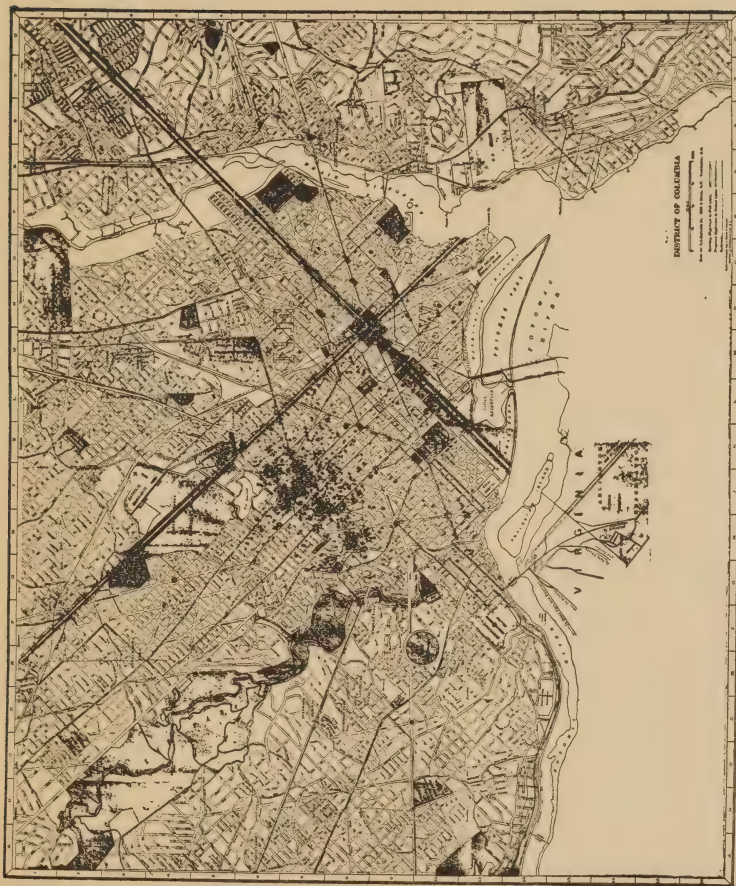
SEC. 2. That any person or persons, whether as principal, agent, or employee, violating any of the provisions of this Act or any amendment thereof for the violation of which no other penalty is prescribed, shall, on conviction thereof in the police court, be punished by a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$100 for each such violation, and a like fine for each day during which such violation has continued or may continue, to be recovered as other fines and penalties are recovered.

SEC. 3. That the Act of Congress approved July twenty-second, eighteen hundred and ninety-two, entitled "An Act regulating the construction of buildings along alleyways in the District of Columbia," and all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with provisions hereof, are hereby repealed.

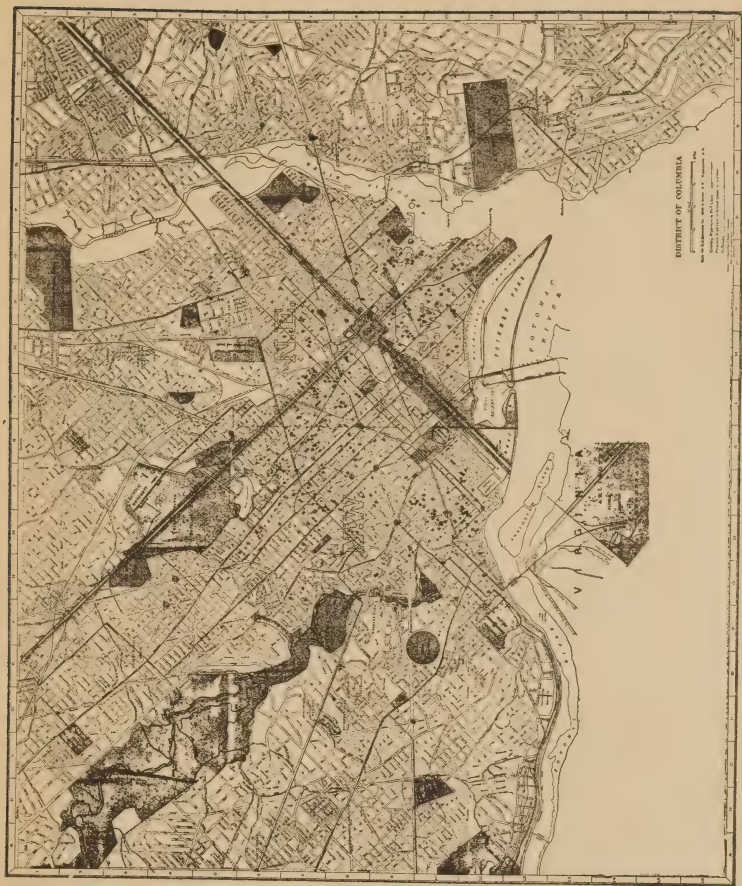
Approved, September 25, 1914.



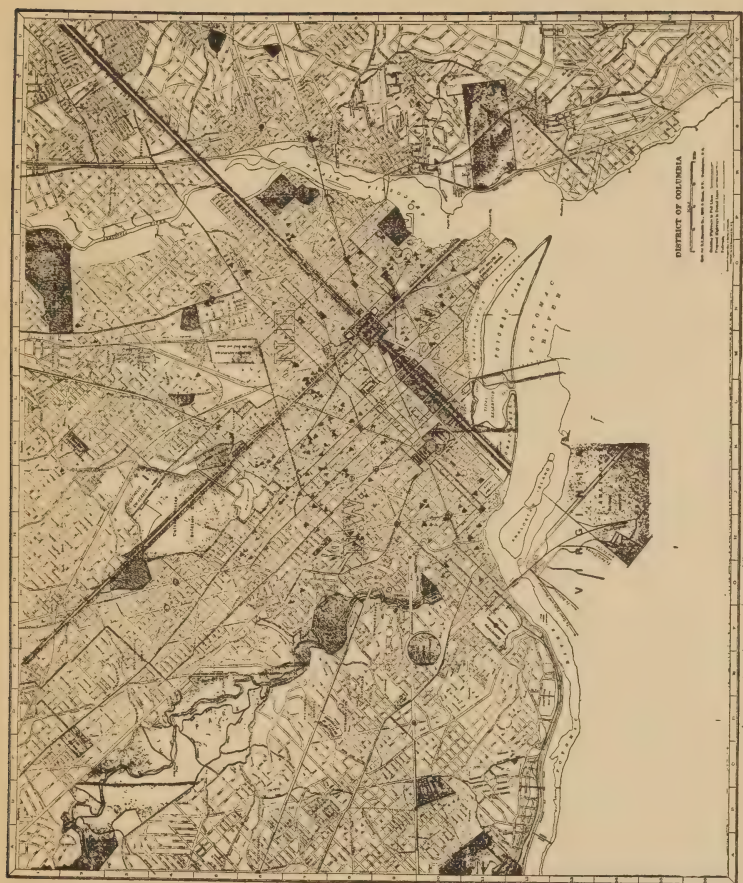
MAP 1.—Showing the Location of Alleys within the Various Health Districts of the City.



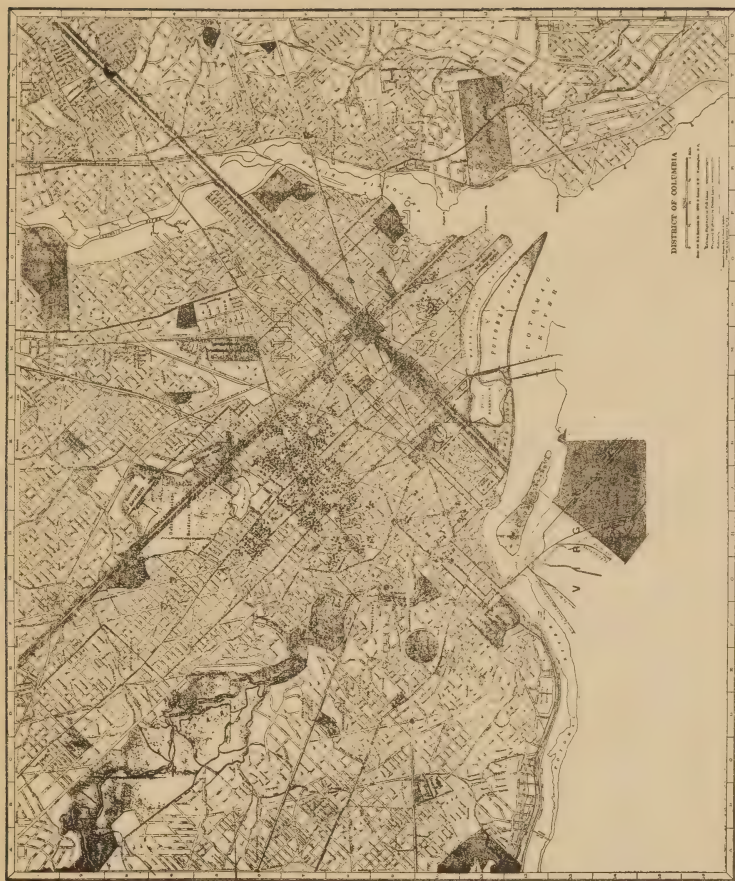
MAP II.—Showing the Geographical Distribution of Negroes Arrested for Felonious Offences, from January 1, 1926 to June 30, 1927—Based upon the Records of the Eighth Police Precinct.



MAP III—Showing the Distribution of Juvenile Delinquents Who Were Assigned to Institutions during the Years 1926 and 1927.



MAP IV—Showing the Ecology of Unmarried Mothers—Based on Hospital Records for the Year 1927.



MAP V—Showing the Distribution of 2,358 Lodgers.

INDEX

INDEX OF NAMES

A

Alexander, W. W., 13
Aspinwald, C. A., 17

B

Bicknell, Grace Vawter, 157
Bowen, W. S., 17
Brooks, R. W., 17
Buckley, John J., 67
Burroughs, Nannie, 17

C

Cobb, James A., 67
Cook, Emily, 39
Cooper, Wm. Knowles, 17
Corrigan, Irene, 67
Curtis, Helen, 67

D

Davis, Henry E., 67
De Graffenried, Clare, 35
Devine, Edward T., 16, 20
Doyle, Captain, 54

E

Easby-Smith, James S., 68
Edson, John Joy, 31

H

Hawkins, John R., 17
Hazen, M. C., 20
Hill, Francis W., 68
Hopkins, Mrs. Archibald, 17, 39-40
Howard, O. O., 29

I

Ihlder, John, 16, 20

J

Jones, Thomas Jesse, 38, 157, 158

K

King, J. U., 17
Kober, George M., 35, 37, 158

L

L'Enfant, 31
Lewis, William, 67

M

MacFarland, H. B. F., 158
McAdoo, Martha, 17
Murray, Willa, 20

P

Pinchot, Mrs., 51
Pine, David A., 68
Polk, R. Cornelia, 15
Porter, S. J., 17

R

Roosevelt, Theodore, 32, 158

S

Sanford, Joseph W., 20
Scott, Emmett J., 16, 17
Sellers, Kathryn, 20
Shick, James P., 67
Slade, Mrs. W. A., 17
Sternberg, George M., 35, 158
Stokes, Anson Phelps, 16, 18, 20

T

Terrell, Mary Church, 17

W

Waldron, J. M., 17, 53
Warden, David Baillie, 157
Weller, Charles F., 38, 157
Wells, Alton L., 20
West, M., 158
Wilkinson, Garnet C., 17
Wilson, Ellen, 40
Wilson, Woodrow, 40
Wilson, George S., 19
Woodward, Wm. C., 43
Woolever, Mrs. H. E., 17
Wood, Mrs. Albert N., 50

SUBJECT INDEX

A

Acculturation, 73, 80
 Alleys, 30-56
 Alley Improvement Association,
 The, 39, 53
 Apartments, 135-144, 152
 Appointment of Homes, 94
 Areas, 59-63, trade, 85ff., natural,
 85
 Associated Charities, 38
 Attitudes of Whites, 74-78, of Ne-
 gro occupants, 100

B

B. F. Saul Co., 91, 136
 Board of Children's Guardians, 21
 Board for the Condemnation of In-
 sanitary Dwellings, 34, 38
 Board of Health, 34
 Board of Public Welfare, 19
 Bohemianism, 137
 Bureau of Efficiency, 152

C

Cafritz Co., 91, 136
 Contacts, residential, 80ff.
 Children, 112
 Coöperative ownership, 143
 Covenant, the, 69-74
 Census, federal, 27-30, 60, 61, po-
 lice, 42, 52, 60
 Chicago Commission on Race Rela-
 tions, the, 106
 Consumers League, the, 118
 Crime and Viciousness, 46

D

Department of Public Health, the,
 21, 43

E

Ecology, 21, 57-82, 148-149
 Ellen Wilson Memorial Fund, the,
 40
Evening Star, 38

F

Family disorganization, 46
 Facilities, recreational, 123-125
 Female employment, 117-121
 Freedmen's Bureau, 29
 Friction, racial, 65

G

Gallinger Municipal Hospital, 20
 Grady & Co., 91

H

Heating, 105
 Home ownership, 127-129
 Hotels, 144-146, 152

I

Illegitimacy, 46
 Inferiority complex, 50
 Instructive Visiting Nurse Society,
 21
 Interracial Committee, the, 13-16

J

Juvenile Court, the, 20

K

Kite Realty Co., 91

L

LeDroit Park, 107
 Lighting, 105
 Lodgers, 111

M

Milieu, 85, 137, 145
 Monday Evening Club, the, 38
 Morbidity, 42
 Mortality,
 Municipal Housing Committee, 50

N

National Civic Federation, 51, 54
 National Training School for
 Girls, 20

National Training School for
Boys, 20
Negro community, the, 8:, 149
Neighborhood conditions, 96ff.
North Washington Citizens' Asso-
ciation, 69

O

Overflows, community, 60

P

Pathological features, 42
Physical characteristics of Negro
homes, 96-110, 149
Police Department, the, 21
President's Homes Commission,
the, 37

R

Real Estate Board, the, 80, 92, 153

S

Sanitary Improvement Co., 35ff.

Sanitary Housing Co., 36
Suburbs, 55, 61, 62
"Sundown occupations," 116ff.

T

Telephones, 125
Tenancy, 129-133
Types of homes, 106ff.

U

United States Public Health Ser-
vice, 152

W

Wardman Co., 91
Washington Playground Associa-
tion, 54
Washington Race Riot, the, 69, 89
Washington Council of Social
Agencies, the, 152



[illegible]

JE 1-40

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MAY 1961

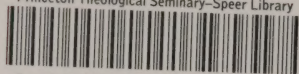
DEC 11 1992



E185 .93.D6J7

The housing of Negroes in Washington,

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00136 5875